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A BRITISH VIEW OF THE TRANSVAAL QUESTION.

THE Transvaal is properly a Dutch question of which the origin is a hundred years old and the scene the whole African region from the Cape to Zambesi. The Dutch in South Africa first came to that region in 1653, in days when the Netherlands were a great naval and commercial power, and when the Dutch East India Company ruled countries which constituted a colonial empire ranking with Britain and Spain. They settled upon the skirts of the vast interior, and took whatever natives they could capture to work as slaves. They lived under the arbitrary rule of the Dutch East India Company—a government of pure despotism, and one under which even the sense of liberal rule, as distinct from racial independence, seems to have been lost. Murmurs against the exactions of officials, or the assertion of what we should now call political rights, entailed confiscation of property, separation from the family, and exile to the Mauritius or some other Dutch penal settlement.

From these conditions many tried to trek into the interior, as they did later, and for very different reasons, under British rule. Then came the prolonged struggle which swept around the world at the end of the eighteenth century, and which found England face to face with a somewhat fluctuating alliance of France, under the blood-stained tyranny of Robespierre and Marat or the despotic military power of Napoleon; of Spain, the still powerful champion of Catholicism in its political aspect and absolutism in its governmental form; of the Dutch with their record of Protestant principles and patriotic love of free-

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dom ; and of the United States with its aggressive assertion of democratic and republican belief. The great and varied conflict ended with the British flag flying over Hindustan, the West Indies, Canada, and South Africa.

In 1815 British rule was thus finally proclaimed at the Cape ; and the oligarchy of Dutch merchants was succeeded by what, for a time, was the military rule of British governors. It was a strange and difficult population to manage. The peculiar and little understood amalgam of Dutch and French, which constitutes the Boer of to-day, was in a fair way to completion. The large immigration of French Huguenots, in the seventeenth century, and of Moravians, in the eighteenth century, had mingled with, and been merged in, the population of Dutch farmers, and had lost not only their national characteristics, but even their language. It is difficult to imagine to-day that such typical Dutchmen as Sir Henry de Villiers, at the Cape, and Gen. Joubert, in the Transvaal, are undoubted descendants of early French settlers. All around these conquered settlements of an alien people the English colonists and governors found the pressure of an immense and hostile native population—hating the Dutch as being aggressive enemies, the originators of slave raids, and the oppressive rulers of their own slaves. Gradually British territory extended, colonization from England increased, the rule of the military governor slackened, and constitutional principles developed. But with these progressive changes came restrictions upon the Dutch farmers in their relation to the natives, and, finally, the total abolition of slavery.

In this connection the Dutch had, and have always nursed, what must be termed a real historic grievance. A large sum of money had been voted by the Imperial Parliament as compensation to the slave-owners; but it was made payable in treasury bonds which the ignorant farmers did not understand, which they deemed worthless, and which they consequently sold to speculators for almost nothing. Added to this, in 1834, there was much suffering from one of the constantly recurring native wars which have so afflicted South Africa and burdened the imperial authorities. The general result was that, in 1839, there occurred the first great trek of Boers. They crossed a large expanse of native territory and poured into Natal, founded Pietermaritzburg, and, after some conflicts with the natives and differences with English troops and an English representative, proclaimed the Republic of Natalia. England, however, retained and maintained her claims to the region; asserted the doctrine that once a British subject always a British sub-

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ject; and sent a small expedition to reduce both Boers and natives to order. The latter was defeated by the Boers, much in the fashion of the Majuba Hill incident of a later time. Then followed anarchy, a larger British expedition, and, in 1845, the annexation of the country to Cape Colony by Sir Peregrine Maitland—who had previously served ten years in Upper Canada as its Lieutenant-Governor.

The second trek then took place into what became known as the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, or South African Republic. During the next few years these two settlements were the centre and scene of continuous turbulence. The Dutch were without organized government, and were first fighting the natives and involving them with the English, and then resisting the slightest effort, on the part of the latter, to restore order or establish government. British settlers also came in and mixed with the Boers below the Vaal River; and finally, in 1852–4, came the act of imperial folly, which built upon a basis of racial rivalry and prejudice the beginning of constitutional issues making the nominal cause of the strife of to-day.

The Manchester School of thought had then become dominant in England, and was the prolific cause of weakness everywhere to British external interests and imperial rule. To the believers in this principle, or party, colonies represented responsibility without profit, and extension of territory meant weakness instead of power. Lord John Russell, in 1850, as Prime Minister, told the House of Commons that he "looked forward to the day when the ties (of colonial union) would be sundered." Lord Ellenborough, Lord Brougham, Lord Ashburton (of pleasant Canadian memory), Lord St. Vincent, John Bright, Cornewall Lewis, Sir William Molesworth, Robert Lowe, Lord Monck (afterward Governor-General of Canada), Richard Cobden, and even Lord Derby, the Tory leader, held similar views. The latter, in speaking of British America, said, as late as 1864, that "we know these countries must before long be independent States." Colonial Under-Secretaries, like Sir F. Rogers, actually urged their chiefs in correspondence, which has been recently published, to prepare for the inevitable separation of the colonies. Of this school of thought the "Times," the "Examiner," the "Westminster Review," the "Edinburgh Review," and Mr. Goldwin Smith were the literary or journalistic exponents. Its first, and perhaps most mischievous, expression was in South Africa.

Practically, the principle that British citizenship could not be renounced was abandoned; and, after a visit by Sir Harry Smith, Governor of the Cape, in 1848, to the regions immediately north and south

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of the Vaal River, instructions were sent out by the Colonial Office to withdraw from all further responsibility for their government. Curiously enough, the Boers of what is now the Orange Free State objected to complete independence. A convention of elected delegates was held in 1853, composed of 76 Boers and 19 Englishmen ; and a constitution was drawn up with the words "under the crown" voluntarily added. But Sir George Clerk had been sent out in the meantime as a Special Commissioner to get rid of these migrating and troublesome farmers ; and despite protests from the loyal Boers, from all over Cape Colony, and from a deputation of delegates to the convention, who visited London, the complete independence of the Orange Free State was recognized, and a royal proclamation issued on January 30, 1854 ; "abandoning and renouncing all dominion and sovereignty" over the territory. Meanwhile, in 1852, there had been signed the Sand River Convention, by which the right of self-government amongst the Boers of what is now the Transvaal Republic—then merely a series of scattered settlements north of the Vaal—was recognized, subject, however, to the abolition of slavery. This important qualification has never been honestly observed. There was also a general vagueness about the document which did not exist in connection with the Free State arrangement.

In this way were constituted two practically independent republics of an alien race, ready, under possibly hostile conditions, to assume the leadership of the Dutch in Natal and Cape Colony as against the English. A little strength of purpose and policy at Downing Street, combined with conciliation at Cape Town, would have, at this time, given these emigrant farmers self-government and liberty without independence ; would have cultivated unity and harmony throughout South Africa, in place of developing differences and promoting separate lines of thought and action ; and would have averted the evils now menacing and environing the population of all that region. But the opportunity was neglected and went by for a quarter of a century.

There remains to us of the statesmanship of that day the present inheritance of trouble, and the sapient remark of the Duke of Newcastle, to the delegates who asked him not to throw over the people south of the Vaal (now the Free State), that "all that England really required in South Africa was Cape Town." Such, however, was a natural outcome of that narrowness of view and lack of imperial imagination which, in its political embodiment, has been called the Manchester School, and which would have stripped England of her external

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power, reduced her to the international level of the Holland of to-day, bought peace at practically any price, and then thanked God for a possible reduction in taxation, or in the army and navy. Besides the heritage it gave Great Britain in South Africa she owes to it the lack of preparation for the Crimean War. Indirectly it made the late Lord Aberdeen, when Foreign Secretary, in the early fifties, refuse to accept California at a nominal price from Mexico, and a little later influenced the Imperial Government to pass over an opportunity of acquiring Alaska.

From 1854 to 1876 there is nothing remarkable about the history of the two Republics excepting, perhaps, their invariable indifference to the welfare of the natives within their borders, and their aggressiveness and hostility toward surrounding tribes. One important distinction there was as between the two states. The Transvaal had made no real progress. It was, by 1877, at the mercy of hostile natives, and bankrupt in both *prestige* and money. The Orange Free State, on the other hand, had grown in organized strength and knowledge of self-government—though even to-day ruled by an oligarchy which is very far from the British idea of freedom—and also in friendship with the neighboring colonies and the imperial authorities. This was due to the wise administration of its President, Sir John Henry Brand, who had five times been elected to the post for five-year periods. During his term of office he had refused to accept the Transvaal policy of non-railway connection with the colonies; had refused to join President Krüger in a defensive military alliance; and had visited England and shown his personal feelings by accepting knighthood from the Queen.

Then came the Transvaal annexation of 1877; and the second opportunity was afforded for the carrying out of a firm policy and the establishment of English influence, finally and forever, in a paramount position in South Africa. Let me give the accepted facts in connection with this much-discussed subject. In the beginning of the year named, 40,000 Boers in the Transvaal, surrounded within their own borders by 250,000 natives, more or less hostile, found themselves at war with Sekukini, a local chief whom they were unable to subdue, and threatened by a ring of Zulu spears along their eastern and southern border, under the command of Cettiwayo—a chief who had inherited much of the skill in war which had made his predecessor, Chaka, a name of terror to the whites of all South Africa.

The Boers had 6,000 troops, unpaid and unkempt, and no money in the treasury. Under these circumstances, a proportion of the Boers—

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there were then hardly any other whites in the Transvaal—turned to Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who for many years had been the British officer in charge of imperial and local relations with the natives, and asked his help. A petition in favor of annexation was largely signed and sent home ; but it was afterward said to have contained many forgeries. How far this was the case it was practically impossible to say after the rebellion had once commenced ; but there were undoubtedly many honest signatures ; and, as Lord Carnarvon afterward pointed out, there was no petition against annexation except one from a few Dutch settlers at the Cape. However this may be, Shepstone knew that England had never given up the claim to interfere in matters affecting the natives, and that Lord Carnarvon, then Secretary for the Colonies in the Beaconsfield Government, was at that very moment preparing a scheme for what he hoped would be the voluntary federal union of all the South African states and colonies.

Shepstone therefore assented to the request for aid under the condition of annexation. No objection was made; and Sir Theophilus, who had exceptional powers of administration from the Colonial Office, went to Pretoria, where, amidst a guard of twenty-six policemen, and without the presence of a single redcoat, he proclaimed the country as annexed to the crown. Sekukini was swiftly subjugated ; and shortly afterward the Zulu war ended in the submission of Cettiwayo. Meanwhile, Mr. Gladstone had denounced the annexation in Parliament ; and, during his famous Mid-Lothian campaign, he vividly pictured the unhappy Boer as deprived of his liberty at the point of English bayonets, and as losing a right which all Englishmen held sacred, in order to feed and fan the flames of Jingoism.

It was well done ; and, from a party point of view, was eminently successful. In the Transvaal, however, it had the effect of a lighted match in a prairie. Danger from the natives was now removed ; British administration had transformed the finances; whilst the free press and platform, to which the Boer was so entirely unaccustomed, had their fullest influence in telling him that he was injured, that his independence had been wantonly destroyed, and that as soon as the Liberals came into power in England the annexation would be annulled, if he only protested strongly. I have no hesitation in stating my belief that it was the attitude of one of the two great parties in England which caused the rebellion of the Boers in 1880. Later on the two delegates from the loyal Boer element in the Transvaal, Messrs. White and Zietsman, who came to London to protest against giving up the

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country, declared that the majority were still loyal, but that they were naturally afraid of the aggressive minority led by Krüger and Joubert, and that the disaffection had been helped not only by the speeches made in England, but even by letters from Englishmen at home.

Following the Zulu war, Sir Garnet Wolseley had gone to Pretoria and organized a nominated Legislature for the Transvaal; declaring, in words which still rankle in the mind of every Englishman in South Africa and in the triumphant memory of every Dutchman, that British power would be maintained in the Transvaal so long "as the sun shines or the rivers flow into the sea." All was still quiet then. Satisfaction or indifference may have changed into sullenness, under the influences already noted; but there was no open expression of hostility until late in October, 1880, when an effort was made to collect some long past-due taxes from a Boer farmer with an unpronounceable name. He gathered his friends around him and resisted the attempt successfully.

On December 16 following, the Republic was proclaimed; and four days later a sudden and unexpected attack was made upon some British troops between Lydenburg and Pretoria, and the most of them shot, armed or unarmed, as they happened to be. The British garrisons were at once surrounded. Then followed the disastrous campaign under Sir George Colley; the inevitable English underestimate of the enemy's strength; and the lack of organized effort which always results from the paralyzing effect of peace negotiations accompanying military operations. The Boers of the Free State were anxious to join in the fray; but President Brand held them back, and opened negotiations in which Mr. Krüger joined, with the now interesting comment that he was willing to submit his case to a Royal Commission. Absolute independence was even then not openly urged, sure though he was of being able to play upon the past pledges of the members of the Gladstone Cabinet—which, it may be noted, then included Mr. Chamberlain himself. In the midst of the negotiations occurred the disasters at Majuba Hill and minor points.

The Imperial Government did not let these events change its policy, however, and, with General Roberts in command of 12,000 troops in Natal eager to avenge the repulses, peace was made and the Convention of 1881 signed. In the preamble of this document, so important to the recent controversy, it is stated that "self-government (not independence), subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal Territory." These words

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have never been withdrawn or modified. Under the specific terms of the Convention, the right of appointing a British Resident was reserved and has since been maintained; and he was given the protection of the natives as his special sphere. A commission composed of the President, the British Resident, and one other, was appointed, to secure the natives in defined territories; and limits were imposed on the taxation of British merchandise. In 1884 a new Convention was made in London, by Messrs. Krüger and Joubert, on behalf of the Republic, and by the Colonial Secretary, on behalf of England and the Gladstone Cabinet. The independent powers of the Transvaal were increased; but no mention was made of the suzerainty; and this vital authority of course remained intact until explicitly repudiated by the only Power which could do so—England.

At the time of these conventions, and for some years afterward, there was perfect equality of laws and treatment for Boer and Englishman alike in the Transvaal. The oath of allegiance resembled that of the Free State, and was not objectionable. Hence, probably, the willingness of the Gladstone Government to resume that fatal policy of drift, which has cursed South Africa and made its history such a record of alternate evasions of responsibility and erratic assertions of power. Troubles extending over half a century have resulted, so far as Great Britain is concerned, from an apparent inability to see that extensions of territory in such regions were inevitable, even though costly and undesired; that the more carefully they were prepared for, the cheaper and easier such additions would be; and that continuity in policy is as essential to success in governing colonial communities as personal determination is to the success of an individual. India under the rule of the great Company was, upon the whole, an illustration of something that has never been seen in South Africa until Mr. Cecil Rhodes came to the surface of affairs with his vigorous and concentrated ambition to paint the map of Africa red.

Events in the Transvaal moved rapidly after 1884. Miners commenced to come into the region and to settle there, many of them permanently. After the first years of numerical weakness, doubt as to the future of the mines, and a natural hesitation to assert themselves in a new country, they began to look around, when they found that the Government, under President Krüger, had gradually and cautiously—without noise or blare of trumpets—enacted legislation which left the English and other foreign residents in the country absolutely outside the pale of citizenship, equality, or liberty. They could not ob-

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tain the rights of freemen even if they wished to take the oath of allegiance ; while the conditions under which the Convention of 1881 had been modified in 1884 were completely obliterated.

The Dutch police had become harsh and arbitrary to a despotic degree. Any resolution passed by the Dutch Volksraad became at once a law, and overruled the constitution and the powers of the judiciary. Chief Justice Kotze resigned, in strong protest against the utter injustice of the legal system. Nearly $20,000,000 was raised by taxation to govern 200,000 white people ; and it was chiefly obtained from the Uitlanders, at an average of $80 per head. In 1897 defalcations on the part of government officials occurred to the amount of over $90,000 ; and little was done to check or investigate the process of robbery. A debate in the Volksraad, in March, 1898, showed nearly $12,000,000 advanced to officials, still unaccounted for and unpaid to the State.

From $200,000 to $1,000,000 was annually voted to the Secret Service fund—a sum entirely in the hands of the President, and used by him to influence Cape politicians ; to cultivate newspapers abroad ; and to keep up an active news agency from which streams of pro-Boer statements have gone out daily to English and American and German papers. A million and a quarter dollars was found to be spent annually on education ; but, though it came mostly from the Uitlanders, practically nothing but the Dutch language was taught in the schools ; while all the school-books were in Dutch, and only that language was used in the Volksraad or the courts. The press was by law absolutely under the control of the Executive ; and there has not now for a year past been any assurance of personal safety, to say nothing of liberty, for an Englishman and his family in the Transvaal. Hence, the appeal to the Imperial Government ; hence, in part, the Jameson Raid for the rescue of the Uitlanders and the ending of an intolerable situation ; hence, in part, the position taken by Mr. Chamberlain, and the present war. Incidentally, it may be said that the Boer is a past master in the matter of raids. His invasions of Natal, Swaziland, Zululand, and other native states have, for many years, constituted some of England's greatest difficulties in connection with the administration of South Africa. As a result of two of these raids the Transvaal now holds Swaziland and a part of Zululand.

A reference to the now famous Jameson Raid brings us to the general condition of the two British colonies—the Cape and Natal—in their relation to the internal and external Dutch population. It is almost impossible to obtain details of the distribution of races in South

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Africa. Books dealing with the region have a convenient way of overlooking the point. The reason is, that in all the different census returns the Dutch and English population is combined under the heading of "European." It is probable that this arrangement was intentional, so far as Cape Colony was concerned, in order to avoid giving prominence in official figures to the dominance of the Dutch. But, on November 11, 1884, the Hon. J. X. Merriman—now a member of Mr. Schreiner's pro-Dutch Ministry at the Cape, though at the date mentioned violently opposed to his own present position and views—gave a lecture in London, from which I quote the following estimate of population in the four chief divisions of South Africa:

Name.	Dutch.	English and other Whites.	Natives.
Cape Colony	220,000	120,000	650,000
Natal	4,000	26,000	400,000
Transvaal	60,000	A few.	800,000
Orange Free State	62,000	"	74,000
Native Territories	.....	.....	600,000

The total figures give some 340,000 Dutch in South Africa, 162,000 English, or chiefly English, and 2,500,000 natives. Since 1884 the English have very much increased and so also have other nationalities —notably the Germans, who have in recent years contributed quite a large immigration—and the natives. The population of Natal, chiefly English, has also increased; and the latest census gives it as 45,000 Europeans amongst half a million of natives. The Transvaal census of 1896 states the presence of 24,489 Europeans, of whom about 16,000 were from the United Kingdom and 754 from "America"—which presumably means both Canada and the United States. But these figures can hardly be depended upon. In the Orange Free State there were, according to the census of 1890, some 24,000 settlers from the Cape and Europe, in a white population of 78,000. Consequently, in these available figures Mr. Merriman's estimate of 1884 is fairly well borne out. The latest estimate in this connection has been given by Mr. F. E. Garrett, a member of the Cape Assembly, who places the Dutch of Cape Colony at 265,000 and the English at 194,000; the Dutch of the Transvaal at 80,000 and the English (or Uitlanders) at 123,000; the Dutch of the Orange Free State at 78,000 and the English at 15,000; the Dutch of Natal at 6,500 and the English at

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45,000 ; the Dutch of Rhodesia at 1,500 and the English at 8,500. It may be added that since 1884 newly annexed territories have raised the native population of British (and Dutch) South Africa to 15,000,000.

These data indicate the present situation as no amount of vague writing or declamation can do ; and it was this numerical dominance of the Dutch in Cape Colony, combined with their feeling of triumph after Majuba Hill and the Convention of 1881, which lent importance and vital interest to the formation of the Afrikander Bund in the latter year. Nominally organized to advance the interests of the Dutch farmers and to give them a larger share in public business and government, it really stood for a future Dutch Republic covering all South Africa. The Hon. J. H. Hofmyer, long the most prominent Dutch politician at the Cape, a Delegate at the Imperial Conference in London, in 1887, and to the one held at Ottawa in 1894, was its practical founder, and was and is, I believe, loyal to Great Britain, in his personal views. But back of him was the astute and shrewd figure of President Krüger, with his well-known and avowed views in the direction of a united Dutch South Africa ; and with him were men like W. P. Schreiner, the present Premier of the Cape, who is stated by men of standing at Cape Town to have always been a professed republican in theory—so much so that his own friends wondered at his taking the oath as Prime Minister. With him were also certain politicians, who saw a means of making votes and influence by pandering to a rising tide of national Dutch sentiment.

Sir John Brand, President of the Free State, saw the danger and refused his approval to the project. Said he :

"I entertain grave doubts as to whether the path the Afrikander Bund has adopted is calculated to lead to that union and fraternization which is so indispensable for the bright future of South Africa. According to my conception the institution of the Bund appears to be desirous of exalting itself above the established Government and forming an *imperium in imperio*."

At the first Congress of the Bund, in 1888, its President declared that the object "was a united South Africa under the British flag." But at the meeting in 1889, while much was said about the future union, references to Britain and the flag were conveniently omitted ; and "Africa for the Afrikanders" was proclaimed the platform and policy of the organization. The following is the platform of the Bund as enunciated at this meeting—Middleburg, March 4, 1889 :

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1. The Afrikander National Party acknowledge the guidance of Providence in the affairs both of lands and peoples.

2. They include, under the guidance of Providence, the formation of a *pure nationality* and the preparation of our people for the establishment of a "United South Africa."

3. To this they consider belong:

(a) The establishment of a firm union between all the different European nationalities in South Africa, and

(b) The promotion of South Africa's *independence*.

4. They consider that the union mentioned in Art. 3 (a) depends upon the clear and plain understanding of each other's general interest in politics, agriculture, stock-breeding, trade, and industry, and the acknowledgment of every one's special rights in the matter of religion, education, and language; so that all national jealousy between the different elements of the people may be removed, and room be made for an unmistakable South African national sentiment.

5. To the advancement of the independence mentioned in Art. 3 (b) belong:

(a) That the sentiment of national self-respect and of patriotism toward South Africa should above all be developed and exhibited in schools, and in families, and in the public press.

(b) That a system of voting should be applied which not only acknowledges the right of numbers, but also that of ownership and the development of intelligence, and that is opposed, as far as possible, to bribery and compulsion at the poll.

(c) That our agriculture, stock-breeding, commerce, and industries should be supported in every lawful manner, such as by a conclusive law as regards masters and servants, and also by the appointment of a prudent and advantageous system of Protection.

(d) That the South African Colonies and States, either each for itself or in conjunction with one another, shall regulate their own native affairs, employing thereto the forces of the land by means of a satisfactory burgher law; and

(e) That *outside* interference with the domestic concerns of South Africa shall be opposed.

6. While they acknowledge the existing Governments holding rule in South Africa, and intend faithfully to fulfil their obligations in regard to the same, they consider that the duty rests upon those Governments to advance the interests of South Africa in the spirit of the foregoing articles; and whilst, on the one side, they watch against any unnecessary or frivolous interference with the domestic or other private matters of the burgher, against any direct meddling with the spiritual development of the nation, and against laws which might hinder the free influence of the Gospel upon the national life, on the other hand they should accomplish all the positive duties of a good Government, among which must be reckoned:

(a) In all their actions to take account of the Christian character of the people.

(b) The maintenance of freedom of religion for every one, so long as the public order and honor are not injured thereby.

(c) The acknowledgment and expression of religious, social, and bodily needs of the people, in the observance of the present weekly day of rest.

(d) The application of an equal and judicious system of taxation.

(e) The bringing into practice of an impartial and, as far as possible, economical administration of justice.

(f) The watching over the public honor, and against the adulteration of the neces-

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saries of life, and the defiling of ground, water, or air, as well as against the spreading of infectious diseases.

7. In order to secure the influence of these principles, they stand forward as an independent party, and accept the coöperation of other parties only if the same can be obtained with the uninjured maintenance of these principles.

How wise and statesmanlike were the views entertained by Sir John Brand is shown by the events thus following his death in 1888, when the most effective and moderate force amongst the Dutch was removed from South Africa, and the head of the Transvaal became the Dutch leader from the Cape to the far north. Henceforward, the Orange Free State was more or less at the command of President Krüger; although it did accept for a time a sort of fluctuating trade arrangement with the Cape, called the South African Customs Union —more or less a farce because the Transvaal refused to join in it and Natal accepted it for a short time only.

Events now moved toward the situation of to-day; and the succeeding occurrences deserve special attention. Before the formation of the Afrikander Bund, the Dutch of the Cape were characteristically inert and apathetic in public matters. The most energetic amongst them had from time to time trekked away to the Republics; and the Boers at home seemed content to vote without much attention to racial lines. Their language and customs—apart from slavery—were now absolutely assured to them. The Legislature since 1872 had been free and fully responsible to the electorate; and they were on terms of perfect political equality with the English. Official reports and debates were printed in Dutch and English and the old Dutch Roman law prevailed throughout the colony.

But with the creation of the Bund came dreams of racial supremacy, instead of racial equality. Brand, who had represented the principle of honorable equality under the law, was gone; and Krüger was installed in the minds of the Dutch masses as the apostle of a new dispensation, of which the Afrikander Bund was to be the instrument. A struggle for political power followed. Mr. Cecil Rhodes saw what was coming and did his best, with the eye and hand of a statesman, to avert the racial conflict. He organized the British South Africa Company, in order to extend and consolidate British power without arousing the jealousies which direct imperial action would have caused. He won over Dutch leaders like J. W. Sauer, Sir Pieter Faure, and W. P. Schreiner himself, and included them in his government between 1890 and 1896. He tried to arouse and increase imperial sentiment in Eng-

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land, and had actually arranged the preliminaries of a Cape and Canadian preferential tariff with Sir John Thompson in London, just before the latter was so suddenly removed by death in 1894. Meanwhile, his speeches at the Cape, and his policy in the new regions of Matabeleland or Rhodesia, Mashonaland or Bechuanaland, as they came under his control, or influence, were not only studiously moderate, but his appeals for Dutch coöperation in building up a united South Africa might even appear extreme in their conciliatory tone to those who did not see the undercurrent he was trying to overcome.

The Jameson Raid of 1895 followed, and came as a shock to the dulled vision of the British public. It is said to be the immediate cause of the present troubles. I believe it was an effect, not a cause. Rhodes had watched, as President Brand had feared, the gradual progress of a powerful Dutch movement throughout South Africa ; and he had to deal with the subtle mind of Krüger, on the one hand, with the gerrymandered constituencies of the Cape, on the other, and with the absolute ignorance of a great public in England. Whether successful or not, he believed that the Jameson attempt to relieve the oppressed Uitlanders would at least arouse discussion in Great Britain ; and discussion meant public interest and increased knowledge of the situation. Jameson moved prematurely, and the whole affair collapsed ; but even in its disastrous end, it unquestionably answered one of the purposes aimed at by the chief promoter. Rhodes assumed entire responsibility for the raid ; and, in doing so, of course lost political place and power in the Cape. Equally, of course, Mr. Chamberlain had been aware of the general situation, though not of the proposed raid ; and it is not probable that he would have been greatly grieved had the Uitlanders themselves cut the knot, overthrown the military oligarchy of Krüger and Joubert, and thus destroyed the centre of the spider-web which was being weaved around the foundations of British power in South Africa. But the whole enterprise failed, owing to the supineness of the Uitlanders and the rashness of Jameson.

I am not prepared to say that success would have made the Jameson invasion right, although that result generally appears to sanctify rebellion or aggression. But in its failure the raid measurably succeeded. The Afrikander Bund partially threw off its mask ; and when the general elections came on in Cape Colony, Sir Gordon Sprigg, who had replaced Rhodes, was overthrown, despite his record of friendliness to the Boers. Mr. W. P. Schreiner, in 1898, came into power as the head of a distinct pro-Dutch Ministry. With the Presidents of the Trans-

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vaal and the Free State in a new defensive alliance, and with a Dutch majority and Ministry in Cape Colony, the year 1898 saw the apparent triumph of the Dutch principle, and a distinct possibility to the average Dutchman and native at the Cape of the establishment of the visionary, but hoped-for, Dutch Republic.

The Boers in South Africa, it must be remembered, know nothing of British power; they cannot read English papers or books; they have long lived in a smoke-clouded atmosphere of happy retrospect in which Majuba Hill and, latterly, Doornkop, represent the local embodiments of imperial strength. As one old Boer said, in a canteen discussion as to the color of the British flag: "I have seen it on three occasions—Majuba and elsewhere—and on each occasion it was white." It may also be noted here as illustrating the character of the present Schreiner Government at the Cape, and on the personal authority of a prominent South African gentleman, that one of its first actions was to change the official postal phrase "On Her Majesty's Service" to "On the Public Service." Recent events have shown that this was a very just indication of general policy, despite the subsequent offer of the Legislature to contribute to the support of the imperial navy. In the light of any close study of the situation, I think this latter action cannot but appear, so far as the Dutch members were concerned, as an effort to cloud and deceive public opinion in England.

This, therefore, was the situation facing Mr. Chamberlain when he decided that the time had come to obtain the same rights for the English settlers in the Transvaal as the Dutch had so long possessed, and now have, in Cape Colony and Natal, and as the English have in the Orange Free State. Stripped of all verbiage and diplomatic language this is the situation to-day. Is there any one outside of certain United States correspondents in London, the American "yellow press," Labouchere's London "Truth," and a section of the English Radical press which is always and everywhere opposed to Conservative policy and Government, who does not believe that the Colonial Secretary has exercised moderation in this whole controversy to a degree of apparent weakness and conciliation which has almost encouraged Dutch aggression?

The imperial action taken to relieve the Uitlanders undoubtedly surprised the Dutch allies in the two Republics and at the Cape. They were not yet ready for overt steps; and it was for some time a question whether Schreiner would take the final plunge into definite and defined treason. If he had done so, the majority of the Dutch at the

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Cape would have followed him, unless British forces in South Africa were made overwhelmingly strong in numbers. Undoubtedly, Mr. Chamberlain's delay in taking military action has been influenced by this consideration, as civil war over a vast region filled with millions of natives and only a scattered white population is an awful thing to contemplate, no matter how right the cause or how honest the motive. A few summarized statements may be given here in connection with the general situation :

I. That a paramount position in South Africa, as well as the possession of Cape Town, was necessarily involved in the retention of the conquered Dutch settlements in 1815 and in the responsibilities which soon came to England for the welfare of millions of natives.

II. That the Dutch farmer, from the earliest days, while loving independence in the form of complete power to do as he liked with his chattels—native slaves or servants—knew nothing, and in the Transvaal knows less to-day, of what real liberty means.

III. That the famous treks of the Boers into far-away regions were dictated not by love of liberty, but by love of slavery, not by hatred of oppression, but by dislike of restrictions imposed upon their oppression of inferior races. Their treks resembled more the Mormon journey from Illinois to Utah in American history—the "peculiar institution" in the one case being slavery, and in the other polygamy.

IV. That no resemblance exists between the Dutch and the English relationship in the Transvaal and the French and the English relationship in Canada. In Canada perfect equality exists between the races ; in Cape Colony and in Natal perfect equality exists, or did exist until the Dutch latterly obtained the upper hand ; in the Transvaal alone it has not existed for many years.

V. That the British position in South Africa has been from the earliest days one of continuous conflict, owing largely to the hostilities aroused by the Boers among the natives ; that the former have been systematically cruel in their treatment of the natives and harsh in their conduct toward missionaries ; and that the bitter complaints of missionaries in this connection are to this day the source of sorrow to English philanthropists and of regret to Exeter Hall.

VI. That, apart from the Boers, the troubles in South Africa during many years past have been increased, and in more than one case caused, by the spirit of irresolution introduced from 1850 to 1870 into imperial councils by the Manchester School of politicians, and from the early seventies onward by men who, though more generally pa-

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triotic in their views, were still unable to grasp at once the difficulties and necessities of imperial administration and responsibility.

VII. That the presence of the great native population in the Transkei territories, in Zululand, Pondoland, Mashonaland, Matabeleland, Bechuanaland, Griqualand, Basutoland, etc., have not only introduced a disturbing element into all the history of these regions, but must be gravely considered in matters wherein general British supremacy is involved. Great as has been the trouble in the past caused by Boer aggression upon the natives, it is compensated for now by the probability, though not certainty, that the most of them will in the present war remain in a passive and neutral condition.

VIII. That if Great Britain had been anxious to grab territory, as too many American papers allege, and as the Americans may be said to have proved themselves to be in the Philippines, she would have accepted the original wish of the Orange Free State to remain under the British flag; would have for once and all crushed the Transvaal in 1880, when there were only six or seven thousand fighting Boers available; and would certainly have bought Delagoa Bay when she was given the now much-desired opportunity under the earlier colonial administration of Lord Carnarvon.

IX. That the real crisis for some time past was not in the threats and contumacy of the Transvaal, but in the underground combination which President Krüger has so skilfully worked out, by means of the Afrikander Bund, amongst the Cape Dutch and the Dutch of the two Republics.

X. That the doctrine of equal rights throughout South Africa for Dutch and English, enunciated and insisted upon by Mr. Chamberlain, should have the approval of the whole Empire and of all English-speaking peoples.

Let me add in conclusion that if England now shows strength as she has exhibited moderation, and constructive statecraft as she has the policy of conciliation, the end of South Africa's manifold troubles is in sight. I see in that event the vision of a federated South Africa, possessed of absolute self-government amongst what are now small racial republics and scattered communities, but with the common bond amongst them all of equal rights and privileges, equal commercial and railway facilities, equal kindliness of legislation toward the inferior races. Over them and guaranteeing popular rights by means of popular power, I see a parliament such as that of Canada and of the new Commonwealth of Australia, but with powers reaching out into the

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vast interior, uniting the Cape with Cairo through the middle of a great continent by British rail and British telegraph, and slowly but surely transmuting Dutch and English feelings of hostility into a common pride in a new African Empire, equalling or excelling in future power and population the marvellous Empire of India. And recent events make me hope to see sharing in the eventual triumph of British freedom and strength, at Cape Town and afterward in London, regiments which shall be representative of that principle of liberty which the Boers reject, and of that principle of unity which they must eventually accept, and coming from the Colonies of Australia, the Islands of New Zealand, and the Dominion of Canada, as well as from the Empire of India.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

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THE STATUS OF PUERTO RICO.

In the possession of Puerto Rico the people of the United States are confronted with both opportunity and responsibility. It would be at variance with American citizenship if we failed to take advantage of the former; we should be recreant to every honest principle if we evaded the latter. Consequently, we may take it for granted that we shall develop the material resources of the island with characteristic energy, while endeavoring to administer the government with the wise combination of liberty and law that makes the American nation the glory of modern civilization.

There is every reason why the regard of the United States for Puerto Rico should be most considerate. True, the island came to us by right of conquest from Spain; but the usually antagonistic relations of vanquished and victor have never existed between the island people and the Americans. The Puertoricans have always manifested toward us the utmost good-will. They joyously welcomed the coming of our flag as a relief from the tyranny, oppression, and barbarity of Spanish administration. They hailed us as the champions of liberty and equality before the law; and they expressed the hope, amid the rejoicing which they manifested when Spain yielded, that to Puerto Rico would come the blessings of good government which have made the United States the abiding-place of a wonderfully prosperous and happy people.

In no small degree, therefore, is the problem which Puerto Rico presents simplified in the very beginning. The people of the island are not wedded to their systems; they do not, in their proper devotion to their country, include love either for Spain or for the laws by which they have been oppressed, held in ignorance and semi-bondage, and burdened with excessive taxation. Former conditions have been, to the Puertorican, exceedingly onerous. He welcomes the advent of the American with sincere joy; believing that, at last, the shackles which have enslaved him are to be cast aside, and that he is to walk erect in a new and healthy atmosphere of liberty and justice.

The investigations of the Insular Commission, which has been

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working under the direction of the President, and of which I have the honor to be a member, have revealed with great clearness the reasons which actuated the Puertoricans in their friendliness to the United States. Justice, as we experience it in this country, was found to be a thing almost unknown. The Commission reports, for instance, two thousand men confined in the jails and penitentiaries of Puerto Rico. Many of these unfortunates had been incarcerated for months and years without trial; and one man had languished for six years and nine months in a dreary cell, the helpless victim of cruel force. In one jail one hundred and forty-nine prisoners were anxiously awaiting trial, their righteous demands for a hearing having been ignored. Almost all of these were charged with petty offences, the punishment for which, in the event of conviction, would have been imprisonment for a brief period of time only.

Taxation under Spanish rule was simply outrageous, while the expenditures were almost beyond belief. In the city of San Juan, with a population of about twenty thousand, the consumption tax on sales of meat last year was $33,000; on bread, $30,000; but on intoxicating liquors, only $1,900. According to actual figures furnished by the Commission, the expenditures in San Juan alone could be annually decreased $140,000 by the introduction of American methods. In other towns, having a population of about five thousand, a saving of $35,000 a year could be effected. A proportionate universal reduction would, of course, be possible in the reformation of the general government of the island.

The school system in Puerto Rico has been utterly worthless. With few schools and no school-houses, and with the Roman Catholic catechism as the principal text-book, it is not strange that not exceeding 10 per cent of the population can read or write. Other disadvantages of living in Puerto Rico can also be enumerated. The tax for making and recording deeds is so high as to be well-nigh prohibitive; while the charge for recording wills is not definitely fixed by law, but is in proportion to the value of the estate. It not infrequently happens that excellent properties are entirely dissipated in fees, leaving nothing for the widow or other heirs. The cemeteries, purchased with public funds, are under the control of the clergy; thus presenting the evil of combining church and state.

Most remarkable of all, however, is the fact that over one-half of the children of Puerto Rico are illegitimate—not because of the wanton immorality of their parents, but because the expense connected

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with a marriage in a church made the formal ceremony impossible among the poorer classes. While thus placing the barrier of money at the church door, the priests discouraged any form of civil marriage; so that the poor, and some of the rich, cut the Gordian knot by simply living together in the marital state. There was not, in this mode of living, a deliberate desire to offend against recognized custom; nor were the relations thus informally assumed regarded as lacking force. On the contrary, both men and women compelled by poverty to live together without legal or religious sanction, remained true to each other. We must feel sympathy for them in their sad condition; and we can well understand the indignation aroused against a government which drove a helpless people into such a state.

Such, in brief, are some of the conditions which existed in Puerto Rico before we wrested the island from Spain. Many of them still prevail. The time must come when not one of them shall remain to blight the fair surface of the island. If the war with Spain had any object in view, that object was the emancipation of the Cubans from the thraldom of Spain. As the outcome of the struggle we have secured a tentative hold upon Cuba; while Puerto Rico presents a field in which we can institute reforms with unquestioned authority. I do not believe that any intelligent citizen of the United States will, for a single moment, entertain the idea of leaving these people to their fate. This being accepted as a fact, ought we, as an enlightened nation, to allow an ancient, barbarous, and unjust system to continue its blight? The answer, I feel assured, will be a universal negative.

Three facts now appear to be plain: (1) that the Puertoricans accepted our coming as an assurance of their future happiness and prosperity; (2) that the conditions under which they lived naturally led them to welcome any change; and (3) that the United States will not allow the fond hopes awakened into being by the sight of the American flag to be ruthlessly blasted. Having established these premises, it follows, as a legitimate sequence, that we must provide a new government for the island—a conclusion which necessitates consideration of the methods whereby similar problems have been solved by other nations.

It has been the practice of other countries for the military authority, acting under the Crown and not through Parliament, to make new laws according to the fundamental principles of the conquering nation. England has pursued this course with all her colonies since the day she lost control of this country. She has to-day three classes

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of colonies: (1) the Crown colonies—and all were of this character at first; (2) colonies governed through representatives of the Crown, who sometimes reside in London, but are more generally Englishmen living and holding office in the new country; and (3) colonies which have a constitution framed by the Crown, giving some local legislative power, over which the Crown exercises the veto privilege. These latter colonies are distinct parts of the dominion of Great Britain.

Germany, when she conquered Alsace and Lorraine from France, in 1870–71, united the two provinces into one, called Alsace-Lorraine, and enacted a complete code of new laws. Germans were appointed to office; the land was thoroughly Germanized; and the inhabitants were compelled to conform to German laws.

When California was wrested from Mexico by our troops, in 1846, the military authorities organized a provisional government, which continued in supreme force until 1850, when California was admitted as a State. The courts of the United States upheld the power and authority of this military government; sustaining, especially, its laws and acts in their relation to purely civil affairs.

The case of New Mexico furnishes another instance of the administration of civil government by military officers. It was a part of New Spain; and when it passed into the possession of our army, in 1846, the Mexican officials departed, and all semblance of government simultaneously disappeared. Gen. Kearney, the commanding general of the army of occupation, proclaimed himself governor, and prepared a full code of laws, civil and criminal; established a new judicial system, with trial courts and appellate courts; prescribed new methods of taxation; and appointed a complete set of officers and judges. He acted with the approval of the President as Commander-in-Chief, but without the direct sanction of Congress. The consent of the latter body was, however, implied through continued silence. This military assumption of civil powers continued nearly five years—long after the war ended, and until Congress considered the people of New Mexico ready for Territorial government. Then an enabling act was passed, and a Territorial legislature authorized.

There are to-day in the United States large numbers of people who would curtail military authority to its minimum degree, and who strenuously assert that it should be especially divorced from all connection with civil government. The arguments which they advance, with conceded honesty and sincerity, were anticipated in the case of Leitensdorf *vs.* Webb (20 Howard, 363), which was heard in the United States

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Supreme Court on a question affecting the validity of Gen. Kearney's act. It was contended then, as it is argued now, that Gen. Kearney had no power to create courts and exercise governmental control without authority conveyed in a specific act of Congress. The court, however, took a different view, and upheld Gen. Kearney's code and his courts, declaring that no power but that of Congress could supplant them ; that the government was legal ; that the acts and decisions of the courts were binding according to the policy of our country ; and that the constitutionality of such military administration could not be questioned.

The decision respecting New Mexico affords the most ample, but by no means the solitary, precedent for the continuance of military authority in Puerto Rico. All through the War of the Rebellion, and after its close, the military established governments in the Southern States, appointed courts which exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction, exercised every grade and class of sovereign power, disposed of public domain, and, finally, leased for ten years the privilege of building wharves—a period which extended far beyond the close of the war, and even after the States in question had been fully restored to their own governments. The acts of these military administrations have been repeatedly upheld by the United States Supreme Court. There is not an adverse decision, except in a few cases where authority to act was not granted by the President as Commander-in-Chief.

It has now been shown, conclusively, I believe, that civil government can be constitutionally exercised in Puerto Rico by military officers, acting under the direction of the President. An opinion noted in 9th Wallace carries us a step further. This decision asserts that until a conquered country is declared by act of Congress to be a part of the United States and a collection district thereof, it must be regarded as foreign ; that mere conquest does not extend the boundaries of the United States ; and that in the period intervening before Congressional recognition duties are still collectible on goods from the United States, as well as from other countries. During this inchoate state, so to speak, the country is under the military authority of the President as Commander-in-Chief, whose government, though semi-civil, conforms only to the laws of war and the usages of nations, and is not based upon Congressional enactment.

This is the situation which obtains in Puerto Rico at the present time and which will continue until Congress intervenes ; for, when Congress acts, a different rule prevails. The island is now a mere mili-

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tary possession, practically a foreign territory, unrecognized by law; but through Congressional action it becomes a part of the United States, on the simple, but convincing, ground that Congress cannot legislate for foreigners. If Congress, declining to act, assents to the *status quo*, the President must and will continue his government, as in the cases of California and New Mexico. Congress might act in negative fashion, declining to accept the new territory as a part of the United States, in which case the creation of laws would not be attempted; or it might direct the President to cast Puerto Rico adrift to take care of itself, or to transfer it to some other power. But, in my judgment, the surrender of the island is a probability so remote as to be beyond the pale of discussion.

If Puerto Rico had come into our possession upon the same terms as Florida and Louisiana, the situation would have been entirely different; for each was ceded under a treaty expressly stipulating that it should be "a part of the United States, and its people entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizenship." Puerto Rico was conquered and ceded; the Philippines were conquered, purchased, and ceded. Their status, however, is not defined by treaty, but is left to Congress; so that they are simply parts of the possessions of the United States—merely the property of the United States, without State or Territorial rights.

The demand of the anti-expansionists, that we ought either to transfer our sovereignty over the Philippines and Puerto Rico to a local government or sell these possessions to some other country, is, in itself, clearly an admission of this fact. Congress would not have the power to dispose of them if they were States or Territories or even integral parts of the United States. We determined on blood-stained fields, that no State or Territory can secede from the Union; nor can Congress sell or cede any part of the United States, or allow any State to set up a government of its own. It follows, therefore, that the demand upon Congress for the surrender of the Philippines and Puerto Rico is untenable; unless it is based upon the premise that these islands are not at this time a part of the United States. Time alone can demonstrate whether we shall ever want to make them States. If we are not certain as to this, we should not make them Territories; for statehood follows Territorial conditions.

Let it be borne in mind, however, that the first step toward the erection of these present military possessions into Territories is taken when Congress enacts general legislation in their behalf, for then they

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become "integral parts" of the United States. The path along which this initial step would lead us is already plainly marked out by our Constitution. If a legislature is to be created under any system of franchise, or laws passed directly by Congress, it must keep the Constitution in full remembrance, and not withhold any of the personal privileges guaranteed to any people of the United States. It must provide a government republican in form. It must insure trials by jury for all criminal offences, and civil cases involving $20, and a grand jury for all felonies. It must see that no privilege of any citizen is abridged. Tariff barriers must be destroyed; for, under the Constitution, all duties must be uniform in all parts of the United States, and no duties can be charged on imports from any State. Malays, Chinese, and Tagalogs, as well as the Puertoricans, can freely enter our ports; for it is the right of any citizen to migrate from one part of the United States to any other part. The judges of the courts must be appointed for life.

All these guarantees of the Constitution must be incorporated in the legislation which Congress would enact for these islands. This is no random statement; it is a principle which has been repeatedly asserted whenever laws enacted by Congress for the District of Columbia and the Territories have come before the courts for judicial construction. The right of suffrage, however, is not included, as that is not a guarantee of the Constitution.

It would, in my judgment, be most unwise and dangerous for Congress to take, at this time, even the first step toward legislation attendant with so many grave consequences. Puerto Rico is, undoubtedly, in need of reforms; but it is not ready for the ballot, nor for jury trials in all its courts, nor to surrender all its customs duties and the revenues derived therefrom. The people of the United States, for their part, are not yet ready to receive all Puertorican products free of duty. This presents, apparently, a hopeless problem; but to my mind the solution is both clear and easy. Congress certainly cannot legislate for the Puertoricans; for this means the bestowal upon them of every privilege guaranteed by the Constitution—a condition which we are not yet ready to grant, nor they to receive.

Consequently, we should allow the President to continue, without interference by, or suggestion from, Congress, the government under military authority. Under such beneficent rule all the needful reforms can be inaugurated. In the meantime the people of Puerto Rico will be preparing for the duties of citizenship; education will be

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extending among them a knowledge of American affairs; and they will have continually before them, as an object lesson, the equal dispensation of justice under wise laws. At some time in the future, when they, like the New Mexicans, who were under the same Spanish system and spoke the Spanish language, are ready for citizenship, let Congress accept the situation, create the Territory of Puerto Rico, and extend over it the Constitution of the United States.

In the meantime the President has ample authority to reduce the duties collected in the island upon imports from the United States; decreasing the scale in such degree as will best subserve the interests of the Puertoricans and protect our own trade. It is imperative, however, that authority be given him to modify the tariff on Puertorican products entering the United States, when, in his judgment, such modification will conduce to the development of trade without injury to this country. As the law at present stands, the President cannot alter any legally prescribed duties, except when a treaty is negotiated under the reciprocity clause of the tariff act. We have negotiated treaties with the commercial rivals of Puerto Rico; hence, this relief for her is demanded by all considerations of justice. The law which would meet this case would provide, that when any foreign country or part of a foreign country has been conquered by the army or navy of the United States, or ceded to the United States, and is in the possession of the military authority of this country, the President may, as to duties on goods imported therefrom into the United States, make such rates or reductions as shall seem proper while the said country is so held and occupied by our troops.

The President can be trusted with this discretion; and he can also be relied upon to make a good code of laws for Puerto Rico. He can be, and is, better informed as to the conditions existing in the island than the members of Congress, at least until the latter have gathered the necessary information through appropriate committees charged with that duty. He can prepare and promulgate the laws more promptly than Congress, which naturally occupies much time in adjusting conflicting questions. He can also immediately remedy any defects—a process which could not be accomplished in Congress without much delay. Indeed, long before Congress could complete its deliberations, the President can have a full *quasi* civil government in satisfactory operation, the laws administered by competent officers, the courts administering justice, the children in school, the people freed from many evils and in the enjoyment of liberty of person and

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of conscience ; while capital may be invested with the knowledge of adequate protection.

The necessity of hasty legislation, with all its crude and imperfect results, would thus be avoided. Ample opportunity would be afforded for the industrial development of the island. We might expect to see railways, tramways, telephones, sugar factories, and fruit plantations in full operation under temporary laws which could be tested by actual operation. The President would thus demonstrate the truth of the asserted policy of the war, that it was not for conquest, but for humanity. Most important of all, we could show to the world that we had begun in earnest to accept responsibility for the good government of the island and the advancement of its civilization.

The American people have demonstrated their ability to govern themselves ; now let us prove that we can uplift the people of the islands of the sea. Through one bloody conflict we achieved our independence ; through another, we struck the shackles from four millions of our own people ; and now, through the war with Spain and its well-directed results, let us give freedom, good government, and higher ideals to the people who have been placed under our control. It is our noble task to lead them up to the high standard required and expected of the people of the United States. But if, after a fair trial, we find that these people do not attain the requisite and desired excellence, we shall know, at least, that our promises have been fulfilled, and that our duty has been honestly performed. In the proud consciousness of this, we can let the future determine its own problems.

H. G. Curtis.

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THE TRUST PROBLEM—ITS REAL NATURE.

No economic tendency is to-day so absorbing the American people, or so full of tremendous possibilities of good or ill for our future development, as is the unmistakable drift toward a concentration of entire industries in single corporate hands. The trusts capitalized at $8,000,000,000 are supposed to represent nearly $3,000,000,000 of actual value, or one-fourth of the entire manufacturing capital of the country, which was valued in 1890 at $6,500,000,000, and must now exceed $10,000,000,000, for the census figure was probably an underestimate. Not only the radical opponents of the trust, but even its advocates, like Mr. F. B. Thurber, predict its well-nigh universal spread, unless checked by legislation ; while our socialist friends claim that it cannot be so checked, but is the natural beginning of an evolution which can only end in monopoly, absorbing all business, and then being itself absorbed by the people in a purified democratic state. Others, again, think the trust will go to pieces of itself, or can easily be destroyed by hostile legislation.

Many would remove all anxiety by referring to the scare and suffering attendant upon the introduction of machinery and of the corporation, with their displacement of the individual hand-worker and the small partnership. These changes have indeed introduced tremendous, and still unsolved, problems of the distribution of wealth, and of how to secure continued prosperity and markets for farmer and manufacturer, and steady employment for labor. But, on the whole, society has gained by the past century of industrial transformation. So it is argued that we should make light of the ignorant fears of the fast growing numbers of those who are truly alarmed over the wonderful growth of the trust.

Now, so far as this relates to the department store, so often classed with the trust, the argument is sound. The department store does not, like so many trusts, ruin the business of its smaller rivals by cutting prices, even below cost, in one portion of the community, while keeping them up for the residents of other sections. It furnishes to every one alike the advantages of lower prices, which are rendered possible

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by the economies of a big business; while it gives its patrons opportunity to buy all their goods, from bonnets to flour, from needles to lawn-mowers, in one store, at a great saving of time. It permits of one payment, one delivery, and one ringing of the door-bell, as the result of a day's shopping; and, by reason of its rapid sales, it can often afford to furnish a fresher and more attractive assortment of the things desired by the buyer. The department store differs from the trust still more vitally in the fact that, having secured a large market by reason of its accommodation to the customer, it does not, like the trust, raise prices above those that would naturally exist with small competitive stores. When the big department stores of a city unite, as they are likely to in time, their similarity to the trust may quickly appear.

The essential feature of the trust, however, is its *monopoly* character. While legally it is only a large corporation, since the technical trust has been changed to the corporate form, yet in fact there is all the difference in the world between the change from hand-tools to machinery, or from the partnership to the corporation, or from the small store to the department store, throughout all of which the keenest competition continues, and the change from the group of competing corporations to the one giant consolidation, which is possessed of monopoly features by virtue of its enormous size, and of the large proportion of the business of the country, along the special line of its work. It is virtually a monopoly of large capital, or a capitalistic monopoly. Prof. Jenks has well defined it as a monopoly which

> "so controls business, whatever it may be, as practically to regulate competition and to fix the price of its products on the whole with little reference to competitors, or to the cost of production, but mainly with reference to securing the greatest net results."

The trust also differs from the so-called natural monopolies, which the writer prefers to call monopolies of situation, such as gas, street railways, water, electric light, the telephone, the telegraph, and the railroad, in that, while equally natural in its development, the trust does not primarily depend on specially favored and limited locations of land, but on the enormous amount of capital requisite for entering upon successful competition. It is not denied that the trust is often favored by affiliation with monopolies of situation, or by a grip upon such natural resources as anthracite coal-mines and oil-wells; but in a broad way the above distinctions will hold.

The evolution of the trust appears to be so natural, that the writer is constantly surprised that no one, even among the economists, seems

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to have anticipated the following analysis of it. Possibly a wider reading, however, will reveal that others have done so.

Until recently the tendency of competition to reduce prices has been met by the ability of the competitors, in considerable degree, to turn to other lines of business, or at least to reduce the capital in an old business as soon as it becomes so overdone as to be unprofitable. A diminution of output would then restore prices to such a level as to yield the normal profits that similar capital, risk, and ability could command elsewhere. This competition, albeit with many jars and jolts, has been the general characteristic of business for this entire century, and has given the economist his well-known ideas of its general beneficent character.

Owing, however, to the growing specialization and costliness of the machinery necessary in almost any line of manufacturing, it is not as easy as formerly to withdraw capital from an unprofitable business. Even the modern corporate form of organization lends itself less readily to dissolution or to withdrawal of a portion of the share of capital than did the partnership. The result of all this can be most quickly seen by an illustration.

Let us assume that in a certain industry the product, under normal conditions, sells for $1, and that of this amount twenty-five cents is necessary to cover taxes, insurance, depreciation, and interest on the normal profits of such business. This twenty-five cents may be considered as fixed charges, since they are charges that the plant is expected to bear even when idle. The other seventy-five cents of the price, which would include wages, fuel, raw material, etc., and which would stop if the factory should shut down, may be called operating expenses. Now let us suppose that this line of business is in the hands of half a dozen or more powerful corporations. Some one of these—or its more or less reckless manager—thinking to take away business from its rivals, and ultimately to make a good showing for the stockholders, may reduce the price to ninety-five cents, although no better able to do so than its rivals. Unless the latter immediately follow suit, they will lose much of their business ; but they will not thereby reduce their fixed charges. They will therefore argue that if they reduce their price to ninety-five cents, they will lose five cents on every article they sell, but that if they do not so reduce, they will lose twenty-five cents on every article they do not sell within the limits of their normal productive capacity. The process is likely to be repeated by another cut to ninety cents in some factory. This series of reductions may continue

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until the article is sold for seventy-five cents. In fact, the price may be reduced a little below that, rather than permit the skilled-labor force to be broken up, and the connection with the markets to be lost.

This kind of competition is recognized by the general public as different from the older forms, since to it are applied the terms, "war of rates," "cutthroat competition," etc. The manufacturers in such a situation recognize that it is a case of "trust or bust." There is an almost irresistible tendency, apart from the economies of combination, for a union of such warring interests to take place. At least a partial confirmation of this theory of the matter may be found in the generally admitted fact, that competing natural monopolies, such as gas-works, railroads, etc., go through precisely this experience, and that, after doing business for hardly enough to pay operating expenses, are forced to combine. Prof. Hadley well brought this out years ago in his "Railway Transportation." It is beginning to be seen that the same reason which makes railroads combine to a ruinous point—the difficulty of withdrawing capital once embarked in any enterprise—applies with more and more force to all kinds of business. Another fact confirming the above theory is the generally demoralized, unprofitable condition of a business with abnormally low prices, which very often precedes the formation of a trust.

To continue our analysis a little further. Broadly speaking, business enterprises can be divided into two classes: (1) those that produce goods known by the brand of the maker, like the Remington Typewriter, the Columbia Bicycle, the Elgin Watch, etc.; and (2) where the goods of one factory's product are likely to be the same as those of another, and where the goods are known by a test easily applied by the purchaser or a State inspector, as in the case of matches, oil, sugar, or alcohol. In the latter class of goods the competition is especially keen, and likely to take the form of abnormally low prices. In the latter class of business the trusts are sooner developed than in the former; yet the recent formation of combinations in bicycles, and a few similar products, indicates the tendency of even the first-named lines of business to enter the trust form.

We may get a clearer idea of this whole subject by a study of the trade-union. Labor, like the corporation, has two classes of expenses; viz., one which is absolutely necessary to the existence of the laborer, such as some form of nutritious food, lodging, clothing, etc.; and one that involves provision for old age, children's education, and certain

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comforts which may not be absolutely necessary for efficiency of labor, but which are necessary for a truly civilized existence.

Again, the labor world, like that of business in general, is divisible into those who have a special reputation as individual workers, such as physicians, lawyers, teachers, artists, writers, etc., and those, including even skilled artisans, whose work is not very distinct from that of others of the same class. In the latter case price, or wage, is the chief thing to be considered by the employer. With such workers, therefore, there arises a "cutthroat war of rates" similar to the case of the business where the product is not known by the brand of the maker. There is frequently a tendency for common labor to compete at ruinously low wages. The labor trust becomes as inevitable as the capitalist trust. Each of the two commonly refuses to deal with those not in the combination, and attempts to force others to do likewise. Each attempts to compel all in similar circumstances to join the trust. There is much more to be said, however, in favor of the labor trust than of the capitalist trust, because the former represents a larger portion of the population, is composed of the "under dog in the fight" instead of the well-to-do and the wealthy, and is more democratically organized than the trust of capital. The trade-union admits to its membership at any time any of the capable workmen of the same trade, and on terms of perfect equality with the old members, in voting and in the right to become officials. In the capitalist trust the competitor, when forced into the combination, is usually admitted to only a subordinate position, and if permitted to become a stockholder, has not, of course, equal rights with the wealthy owner of a larger number of shares.

This illustration, however, will further confirm the position here taken, that the capitalist trust is a natural development of modern competitive conditions. If there were no auxiliary and evil methods employed to assist in the formation of the trust, and if, when formed, it did not do more in the matter of price regulation than to restore the normal charge; *e.g.*, $1, in the above illustration, and if it did not resort to culpable methods in perpetuating its supremacy, the trust problem might be dismissed as of little danger to our industrial and political life. In this case we certainly could not find fault with the trust for economies in dispensing with part of its labor force, any more than we could find fault with machinery for its tendencies in that direction, even though the temporary evils and suffering are great. In fact, we should have to indorse the trust as a necessary solution of existing cut-

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throat competition, and as containing in itself great opportunities for economies, not so much in the manufacture as in the buying of raw material and in the sale of manufactured goods. It should be added, in the above illustration, that the trust would not be free from criticism unless it should share with the public some of these economies, and, perhaps after a brief restoration of price to what was reasonable before the consolidation, should begin a gradual series of reductions of price to keep pace not only with the economies of the trust, but with the progress of the arts and the general business methods. All the evidence at hand points conclusively to the failure of most trusts to treat the public fairly in this matter.

While conceding so much to the trust, we cannot indorse the remarkable claim made by Mr. F. B. Thurber, before the United States Industrial Commission, that through the trust alone can our manufacturers secure foreign markets, and that such markets are a necessity to modern business. He says :

"With a consuming power of 75,000,000 (population) we have a producing power of 150,000,000. Our problem is to keep our labor and capital continuously and remuneratively employed by preserving our home market and reaching out for a place to dump our surplus among the other 1,365,000,000, each of whom has some wants."

Mr. Thurber frankly admits—as did Mr. Havemeyer before the Lexow Trust Committee—that the trust tends to depress the price of raw material and so to injure the market for the farmer, and consequently to lessen his ability to buy the product of the manufacturer ; but, in the same breath, he advocates the trust as helpful in securing a foreign market—without apparently appreciating the inconsistency of the two positions. It is also remarkable that a man of Mr. Thurber's keenness of vision should bring as severe an indictment against our present distribution of wealth as ever was brought by Bellamy ; for, of course, in any sane system of industry there could not be conceived any necessity of "dumping" a surplus abroad, although a great amount of international trade would, under any social organization, be of benefit to all. Under any rational distribution of incomes the purchasing power of any people would equal its producing power.

Mr. E. J. Smith, the famous Birmingham manufacturer, seems to admit, in his public addresses and pamphlets, that under trust conditions the consumer may have to pay higher prices ; just as Mr. Thurber holds that the farmer will get less for his raw material. But our English friend, who has been very successful in the formation of trade

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combinations, and who has of late been held up as an example for American employers, makes a very curious statement of the way his plan works when he says, in a description of how the help of organized labor is secured in the trust movement :

"When the value of the material is low, and the processes through which it passes many and complex, a bonus of 5 per cent upon wages may be a fair proportion of 10 per cent advance on selling prices, and this is the amount fixed by some trades. Where, however, the materials are expensive, and the labor comparatively trifling, a higher proportion of bonus is necessary. Thus some trades pay 10 per cent bonus upon 10 per cent advance in selling prices."

Let us see, for a moment, how this would work. Suppose labor cost sixty cents and material thirty cents, and that profits are ten cents, on an article selling for $1, and that a trust raises the price 10 per cent to $1.10, and gives labor a 10 per cent rise ; *i.e.*, from sixty cents to sixty-six cents. Material, of course, remains at thirty cents, since there is no reason for any change, while profits, by Mr. Smith's scheme, must absorb the rest of the price, and so would rise from ten to fourteen cents, or 40 per cent. To take a second illustration, suppose labor receives thirty cents, material sixty cents, and profits ten cents, on an article selling for $1, and the price of that article was also raised 10 per cent, or to $1.10, while labor, in such a case, as he suggests, was raised 5 per cent ; *i.e.*, from thirty cents to thirty-one and one-half cents. Then profits would rise from ten cents to eighteen and one-half cents, or 85 per cent. Some trade-unions may be willing to accept this very unequal division of increased earnings ; but that the American people as a whole would ever be satisfied with such a settlement of the trust question is incredible. It must, of course, be recognized that bad as is Mr. Smith's solution, his readiness to deal with labor-unions on terms of respect and even confidence may well furnish an example to the American employer.

In his famous address before the Chicago Trust Conference, in September, Mr. W. Bourke Cockran assumed that the trust was the survival of the lowest priced and best among producers, and that after the trust was formed its continuance would depend entirely upon maintaining this superiority of price and quality over all possible competitors—provided railroad and other unlawful discriminations, tax inequalities, etc., were abolished. This not only ignores many of the harsh methods and the clubbing of competitors, by means of which, independently of railroad and taxation discriminations, the trust is often formed ; but it ignores, above all, that tendency to monopoly in

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modern business, the fact of whose existence it has been the chief effort of this article to establish. After a trust has once been organized as the result, it may be, of ruinous competition among its organizers, it not only requires enormous capital to enter into competition, but there is a certainty that after a competing establishment is built it must be prepared for a very costly war of prices; it must start without any reputation or established market; and it must encounter abnormally low prices from its giant competitor in the local markets first reached. The established trust is also usually affiliated with other trusts controlling the supply of raw material.

There appears to be, thus, a virtual monopoly, whose price is not regulated by the cost of the service, but by the tendency of a very high price to drive consumers to some partial substitute. The trust also makes such a vast saving in dispensing with competing travelling men —albeit society loses something from the education of the consumers' taste which the travelling man gives—that the return of competition to the trust field can only be looked upon as a temporary warfare. It is more and more likely to be followed by another consolidation stronger than the first.

Some large manufacturers believe that the possible economies from this form of organization are mostly confined to the selling department; but they admit that here the chances for economy are great. Some of the largest manufacturers in their respective lines in the United States are authority for the assertion, that the price that the consumer pays is often 100 per cent in excess of the cost, including a fair profit for the manufacturer. Through a saving in the number of travelling salesmen, in advertising, in the distribution of goods from the nearest source of supply, and in many other ways, this cost of distribution might well be reduced one-half. One of the greatest criticisms to which the competitive system is open is the waste involved, for example, in the journey through the same street of a dozen different milk-carts or ice-wagons, stopping at as many different houses. The manager of the trust, adopting unconsciously this socialistic view of the matter, familiarizes us with the arguments as to the advantages of combination.

For the same reason the writer cannot help feeling that the potential competition which Prof. John B. Clark relies upon as a means of preventing trust extortion is but a weak crutch. It may be that in some cases the charge of the syndicate will be so very extortionate, as in the case of the copper trust of a few years ago, that a group of cap-

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italists can be found to unite against it and crush it ; but the result in the case of copper seems typical of what will be likely to occur, and what is occurring in other such cases ; namely, that out of the ruins of the first trust a stronger one is developed. The question, however, of whether the trust would retain sufficient monopoly features to be a serious menace to the community, if railroad and tariff favors and the sale of trust products in different places and to different consumers at absurdly different prices were prevented, is still so largely a question which only time can decide, that it is of more practical importance to notice the immediate measures which are more and more urged by all unbiased students of the problem.

Our immediate problem is this : Given a new form of organization which, on the one hand, has in it vast possibilities of social economy and advantage, but, on the other hand, is now being selfishly used to make exorbitant profits and to crush would-be competitors by all sorts of discriminations and indefensible practices, can we keep the good while we remove the evil ?

Fundamental to all other propositions for this end is the entire prevention of discrimination in railroad rates to large or favored shippers. The Interstate Commerce Commission in its last report declares :

"There is probably no one thing to-day which does so much to force out the small operator and to build up those trusts and monopolies against which law and public opinion alike beat in vain, as discrimination in freight rates. This problem is so serious that it will soon attract an attention that has hitherto never been given it."

Mr. H. T. Newcomb, Chief of the Section of Freight Rates, Division of Statistics, United States Department of Agriculture, thus testified in March, before the Industrial Commission, relative to the effort to increase the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission :

"The really dangerous opposition comes from the trusts and powerful combinations of shippers, who, through the control of enormous traffic, are able to dictate to the railways the terms upon which they will purchase transportation. These people are able to dictate rates to the railroads and get unfair profits and unfair advantages over their competitors from the necessity the railroad is under of taking traffic at whatever rates they are willing to pay. . . I will venture to assert that there has not been a rate on sugar from New York, Philadelphia, or any of the great refining cities, promulgated by the railways within the last ten years, that has not first been submitted to the sugar trust. And you can go right through the list of organizations of that kind in this country, and you will find that they are the ones that make the rates on their own products. The reason, I believe, that the Patterson Bill, providing pooling and increasing the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission, was not passed in 1894, was the underhanded and secret opposition of the trusts."

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Recent investigations by one of my colleagues in the Bureau of Economic Research, Prof. John R. Commons, revealed that on the Boston and Albany Railroad, for example, the lowest published local rate on coal, which is carried cheaper than most commodities and as cheaply as any, is higher than the average receipts per ton mile on all freight; while the Massachusetts Railroad Commission expresses surprise that any one should doubt the propriety of giving lower rates to shippers of many carloads than to the shipper of one carload. Yet, in view of the quasi-public character of the railroad business, and in view of the social advantages of equal rates to all, the railroad will have to come to the government practice, which sells postage stamps at the same rate, whether one buys one cent's worth or one hundred dollars' worth at a time. While there is some additional cost—though less than is often claimed—in shipping broken carload lots over that of transporting an entire carload from one shipper, yet even here public welfare will probably require equal rates to all shippers. In the South, this principle of equality of rates, as between 100-pound packages of freight and 100-carload shipments, has already been carried out far more than elsewhere, and far more than railroad men have been willing to concede as practicable.

So important is this question of equal railroad rates to all shippers, that it is a great pity that this preliminary measure to any satisfactory treatment of the trust question is not more emphasized. Very many radical opponents of trust abuses lightly pass over this question, even while admitting that it has some importance; concentrating their energies upon suggestions that are at the very best capable of only a remote application. This may be partly explained by the fact, that the whole business world is so accustomed to getting lower rates when purchasing large quantities of goods that it does not realize how far-reaching is the suggestion of perfect equality of railroad rates. Many seem to think that it only means that shippers of the same quantities of goods shall receive the same rebates or discounts from the usual rates to the small shipper. While the writer believes that a proper solution of this and other railroad problems can never be fully reached short of government ownership, it is evident that a more important and immediately practicable measure is the attempt to use all the powers of regulation possessed by the Government. Not only will this remove some of the existing evils, but the American people will never be ready to take more advanced measures until they have realized the limits of a really honest, thoroughgoing effort at regulation, at the hands of de-

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termined opponents of corporate abuses. Such regulation the country has never had.

Another immediately practicable measure—which nearly all concede in theory but ignore in their emphasis upon more utopian suggestions—is a large reduction in tariff protection upon such industries as Congress shall select, in view of the abuse of the protective theory in such industries by the formation of controlling combinations of capital. It will not do for Congress to pass a general law reducing or repealing tariffs where there are virtual trusts or monopolies; because the courts, laboring under the delusions of an obsolete political economy in which they were trained in youth, or warped unconsciously by social connections with the managers of large corporate interests, are sure to quibble as did Mr. Cockran in Chicago over what constitutes a monopoly. Congress must exercise its own discretion in the matter; being guided by the general principle that the monopoly feature exists in any business, when, by virtue of its enormous capital or special favors of one kind and another, a great corporation or combination of corporations therein is even in a partial degree independent of the regulating force of competition, and is able within certain limits to fix prices more with reference to what the traffic will bear than with reference to competition in the supply of its product. As the theory of the protective tariff demands competition at home to take the place of the excluded competition from abroad, one need not believe that all protectionist arguments of the past have been fallacious, in order to indorse a great reduction of protection on trust goods. Although industrial combinations are being formed in England, they do not raise prices as much as in protectionist Germany and America.

A third practical suggestion of vital importance, but exceedingly difficult of application, is to secure absolute publicity of all the books and acts of every corporation, both on the demand of the holder of a single share of stock, and through the extension of such powers as are already lodged in our superintendents of insurance and banking. In the whole range of radical invective by even the socialists and anarchists, there is no such scathing arraignment of corporate abuses as was made at the Chicago Conference by Mr. Cockran, whose wide practice among the corporate interests of the country entitles him to speak with authority.

Another problem of the trust is represented by its discriminations in prices, and its forcing of all retailers to boycott other producers. Every one knows how the Standard Oil Company, the meat combine,

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and many other less famous trusts have often reduced prices in some town very much below the price in a neighboring place, until some local competition was crushed. Prices have been thus reduced at times even below operating expenses. In the matter of boycotting rivals a wholesale grocer in Chicago writes :

"For years the Diamond Match Company has offered and paid such wholesale grocers as agreed to handle only its goods an extra profit. The National Biscuit Company has done the same since last November. The American Sugar Refining Company in its latest circular, dated September 11, adopts the same means to compel wholesale grocers to buy only of it by offering them a 'voluntary gratuity of one-eighth cent a pound.' It is common talk that many other trusts outside of the grocery line, but of which I have no personal knowledge, are finding this method their most effective weapon to prevent the starting or growth of competition. It may be said, the dealers should refuse to accept such special rebates and remain free to buy competitive goods ; but as most of their demand is now necessarily for trust goods which they therefore must handle, they would lose the extra profit on the largest proportion of their trade in that line. There is but one wholesale grocery house in this city that does not sign these special rebate agreements, and it is said to be the only one in the entire West. Would-be competitors of the trusts, finding all the wholesale avenues of trade closed, can only sell direct to the retailers ; and nearly all who have tried this have found the trusts then making retailers such special rebates to handle only their goods. The retailer, like the wholesaler, for the same reason, finds it more profitable to accept such special rebate than to encourage competition.

"Are there no laws to compel the trusts to be content to do their fighting by means of price and quality—the only weapons employed by the mercantile world not in combinations—and is it not against the present laws to offer a premium 'to handle only our goods,' where only the plain relations of seller and buyer exist ?"

He says that he knows of only one effort to prevent this—that by Attorney-General Monett, of Ohio, who is prosecuting the National Biscuit Company for such boycotting practices, but finds it difficult to get the actual proof ; for the trusts keep in their own possession the agreement not to buy of other dealers, which the jobber signs when getting his rebate. Von Halle, in his book on trusts, asserts that the courts have decided against a pledge in advance not to deal with other producers, but have permitted retailers to receive rebates on the statement that they have not bought of other manufacturers. But the trust can accomplish its desires as well by the second method as by the first.

Prof. John B. Clark, in his able address at the Chicago Conference, as also in previous papers, urges legislation to prevent all discriminations of either character just referred to. He would have the same prices quoted to all as is done on the stock and produce exchanges, and would have the law provide that, where a price is lowered in one place it must be correspondingly lowered elsewhere. This demand

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strikes at some of the most hated and arbitrary methods of the trust—methods which in fact are more responsible for the popular odium of the combination than is usually realized. Nevertheless, the framing, and, above all, the enforcement, of adequate legislation on the subject appears much beyond the present capacity of our Government. It would seem as if the trust, in spite of any law, could make its jobbers or retailers its own agents and partners or even members of the corporation in a way to permit of the continued giving of discriminating prices. Much good, however, will come from the sharp attention that Prof. Clark has called to this evil of the trust.

We have thus far considered proposed remedies, such as tariff and railroad reform, publicity, prevention of boycotts, discriminations to retailers, etc.—remedies which most people can in large measure indorse, whatever may be their views as to the future of the trusts. Probably a much stronger control of the capitalization of the trust would also be generally recognized as practicable and wise in order to prevent deception of the innocent investor; although a sufficient degree of publicity would take away many of the evils of over-capitalization. We now reach the parting of the ways.

Some hold that nothing more need be done because the trusts will go to pieces of themselves through over-capitalization, recklessness, and incitement of new competition. The writer does not share this view. Others again consider the trust so wholly evil that they would attempt to annihilate it—"smash it," as they say—by instituting a system of Federal and State licenses upon all corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and forbidding their doing business in any State outside of their origin, without such license. This license would only be granted to corporations that were free from the monopoly feature, as well as from stock-watering, secrecy in management of accounts, etc. If, however, the economic analysis given in the early part of this article be sound, there is a certain amount of the inevitable in these great combinations, and a considerable truth in Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's remark, that "monopoly is business at the end of its journey." It would therefore seem as if the attempt entirely to prevent these giant combinations, either through a system of Federal and State licensing or through the suggestion of Prof. Henry C. Adams to restrict the rights of incorporation chiefly to railroads, banks, and other great quasi-public enterprises, would be flying in the face of economic evolution and the possibilities of cheap production, just as would be laws preventing the use of machinery.

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A third class of students hold that there will be no trust problem to disturb us after we have taken care of the various forms of discrimination, secrecy, over-capitalization, boycotts, etc., hitherto discussed. In other words, the monopoly feature will be of too slight importance to disturb any one. While it is too early in the evolution of the trust for one to be very positive on this point, it seems likely that this view, too, is a mistaken one, and that there is more probability that those are right who hold that there will still be a problem of monopoly charges, and other evils incident to such a mode of business organization, even after the problems immediately before us are cleared away. If this prediction prove true, more and more will the hand of the State be laid upon the trust, perhaps not so much in the direction of prohibition as in the direction of public ownership. It will probably be found in the case of the trust, as already in the case of city monopolies and railroads, under all systems of public regulation of private management, that the regulated will regulate their regulators. The railroad and the gas, or electric light, company secure the appointment of compliant, weak commissions. Just as the effort to regulate city monopolies has thus far had as its chief result, in many cities, the raising of the price of Aldermen, so it is to be feared that when we attempt to apply to the trust even these conservative, but far-reaching, suggestions of Mr. Cockran, Mr. Clark, and others, respecting publicity, discriminations, etc., the purity and independence of our public men and the general character of our political institutions will be put to an exceedingly severe and demoralizing test. Yet there seems no other way except to go ahead, even though some of us expect that something more far-reaching than regulation will have to come in the end. The railroad and the trust to-day employ probably one-fourth of the non-agricultural labor of the country. The political dangers of this can be imagined, especially when we consider how small a percentage of these workers is enjoying the independence which membership in a trade-union gives.

This question of what, if anything, shall follow public regulation is still a problem of such a remote future that it is not well to spend much time in dogmatizing upon it, lest we lose the unity and energy necessary to solve the railroad and other problems that lie at the threshold of all treatment of the trusts. In fact, we may go further, and say that we may perhaps best prepare for proper treatment of the railroad and trust questions by training administrators in our better governed cities through the assumption by them of public ownership

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and operation of gas, electric light, telephones, water-works, street railways, and other similar monopolies.

Mr. Newcomb, quoted above, told the Industrial Commission : "It is very important that we should have such training schools [as publicly operated city monopolies] for men who are to administer the affairs of this country. Our administration is weak because we have given it very little to do." As I stated, substantially, a few weeks ago, in the New York "Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin," there is no royal road to the settlement of the trust question. Even Mr. Lloyd, whose book on this subject is known the country over, when asked by a recent congressional committee for a bill dealing with the trust problem, replied that he had no legislation as yet to propose, although he would suggest that a good introduction to more constructive legislation would be made by opening our prison doors as readily to receive the rich as the poor criminal, and by punishing the corporate violators of the laws we now have.

We conquered at Santiago and Manila by building our Oregons on a far-off Pacific Coast, and training our Deweys in land-locked rocky Vermont. So before we can deal adequately with the trust problem, we shall have to build our battering ram back in the hills, and gradually move it up to the walls of Jericho ; getting practice and preparing for the final struggle by overthrowing many obstacles as we move along. There must be such a change in our attitude that we shall not merely envy the trust because we are not fortunate enough to be in one, and that it will be no longer possible for our State universities to receive a paltry three or five thousand dollars a year for the investigation and teaching of all these great economic and social questions, as is the case in most of our States to-day, while monopoly magnates think nothing of securing to their universities ten times as much a year for the same purpose. Furthermore, our American States will have to cease to be contented with commissioners, State attorneys, etc., worth two or three thousand dollars a year, and going out of office with every change of administration, while a sugar refinery or a railroad is ready to pay five to ten times as much for its talent wherewith to oppose or checkmate public control. The trust problem, like the slavery question, will take a generation or more to settle, and, like the slavery question, will entail endless trouble unless approached intelligently and with deep conscientious devotion to the public weal.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

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AFRICA: PRESENT AND FUTURE.

THE twentieth-century Africa promises startling contrasts when compared with the Africa of the nineteenth century. With an area four times as great as that of the United States, a population of 150,000,000, a soil and climate capable of infinite variety of production, a rapidly expanding commerce, and the greatest known supplies of ivory, gold, and diamonds, its development under the modern methods which are now being applied to it is practically assured. The home of the oldest civilization, it is the last of the continents to yield to the touch of the newest civilization. But yesterday enveloped in the darkness of mystery without and ignorance within, it is to-day illuminated by the search-light of modern methods; and as its importance and attractions are being recognized, with this recognition must come development. With two million Europeans scattered over its vast area, acquainting themselves with its natural conditions and requirements, with the steamer, the railroad, the telegraph, and the telephone carrying light and knowledge and civilization to its darkest corners, Africa cannot long remain unknown or unknowing.

It was only after the explorers—Livingstone, Speke, Stanley, and others—had discovered, through persistent and heroic efforts, that there existed vast navigable waterways above the falls near the mouths of the great streams which flow from the interior, that European nations awoke to the physical and commercial possibilities of Africa; and then, in a twinkling, the Dark Continent was seized upon and divided up, and became, as by magic, a vast European "hinterland." Between 1884 and 1898 an area two and a half times the size of the United States, and containing a population of 100,000,000, was parcelled out by an agreement of the European powers. At present scarcely a foot of African territory remains unclaimed.

Eight European nations hold vast tracts of territory in Africa to-day; while a half-dozen independent governments, most of them republics, control smaller territories, but by no means insignificant in area. Great Britain and France each control in Africa an area larger than that of the entire United States; Germany's possessions on that

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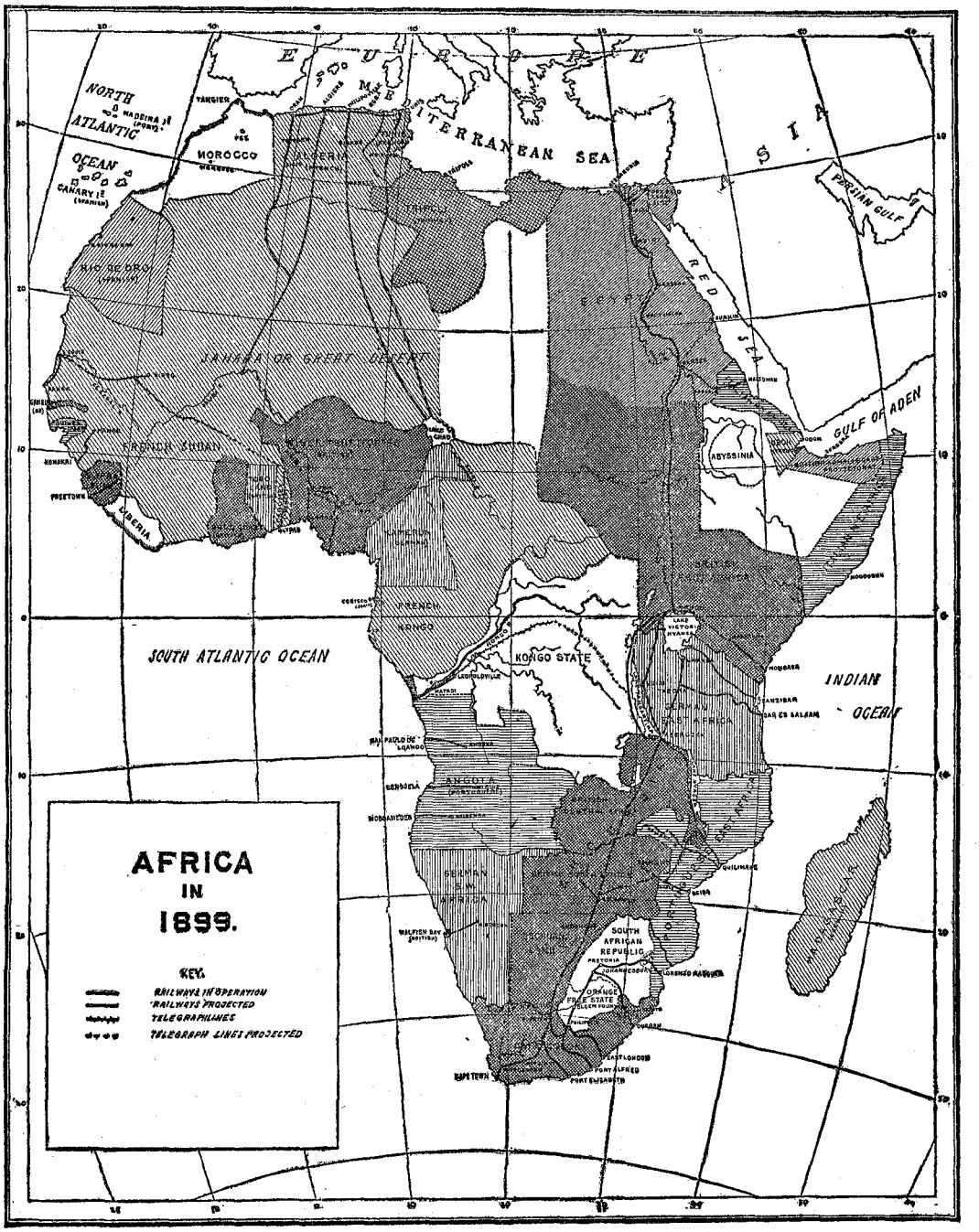

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continent equal about one-third the area of the United States; Portugal has about 800,000 square miles; the Kongo Free State, controlled by Belgium, has 900,000; Italy claims 188,000; Spain, 243,000; the five independent States of Transvaal, Orange Free State, Liberia, Morocco, and Abyssinia have 585,000; while Tripoli, Egypt, and the Egyptian Sudan, all nominally at least under Turkey, have a joint area of 1,750,000 square miles. Nearly all of these vast tracts have been acquired within the last fifteen years. England obtained control of Cape Colony a century ago; France conquered Algeria in 1830; and Turkish control of Egypt began in the year 1500; but aside from these, the European control of Africa has been of recent, very recent, acquirement.

While France has the largest African area and the largest foreign population, her territory lies in the least valuable section of the continent, whether considered physically or ethnologically. The territory of Great Britain, although slightly smaller in area, is much more advantageously located; and when combined with territory over which she exercises joint control with other nations, it actually exceeds in area and in native and foreign population that of France or any other nation. Still another and extremely important point in favor of British possessions in Africa is the contiguity of the various territories over which she has obtained control, and their relation to the people, productions, and future possibilities of the continent.

British control of African territory began in 1796, when that Government took possession of the Cape of Good Hope. The Cape was discovered by the Portuguese in 1485, and used as a place of call for their passing vessels until 1652, when it passed into the hands of the Dutch, who retained it until the British took possession in the year above named. British control, however, continued only to 1803, when the Cape was restored to the Dutch. But in 1806 it was reoccupied by the British, and at the general peace of 1814 was formally ceded to the British Crown by the Dutch Government, on payment of six million pounds sterling for the Dutch possessions in Africa and South America. Since that time it has been permanently a British colony; the Dutch population, however, being recognized by the use of their language, jointly with English, in the schools, legislative bodies, and official publications of the Colony. In 1838 the British took possession of Natal, lying just north on the eastern coast, where the Dutch had established a colony; and many of the Dutch of Natal and Cape Colony "trekked" to the north side of the Vaal, establishing the pres-

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ent Transvaal republic. In 1871 the British obtained control of Basutoland, adjacent to Cape Colony, and in 1884 established a protectorate over a large territory north of Cape Colony, known as Bechuanaland. In 1890 control was extended still farther north over a large territory including what was then known as Mashonaland and Matabeleland; the total area obtained amounting to about 750,000 square miles, with a population of 1,000,000. This gave contiguous territory and continuous control from the Cape to the Zambesi; and in the same year, 1890, control was obtained of a large territory on the north bank of the Zambesi, the two territories thus obtained being separately designated British South Africa and British Central Africa. Both are now administered by the British South African Company, of which Mr. Rhodes is the head; and the entire territory is known as Rhodesia.

The possession of these contiguous territories—Cape Colony, Natal, Bechuanaland, and British South and Central Africa (Rhodesia)—carries British control in a continuous strip of territory from the southernmost point of the continent northward to the south end of Lake Tanganyika, a distance of over 2,000 miles. Lying 200 miles north of Lake Tanganyika—which is 410 miles in length and navigable for the vessels of all countries bordering upon it—is the territory of British East Africa, acquired in 1886–90, with an area of 1,000,000 square miles and a population of 2,500,000. This important territory extends to the Indian Ocean on the east and stretches northwardly to the southern boundary of, and merges with, the Egyptian Sudan. It may be designated the most northerly of the British possessions in East Africa, with the exception of a small strip on the Gulf of Aden, which commands the entrance to the Red Sea, but is not connected with other British territory, and is not especially important as a part of the chain of British territory in East Africa.

While British East Africa is the most northerly of Great Britain's chain of territories extending from the Cape toward Cairo, it does not end British control, or at least British influence, in East Africa. It is well known that British influence and coöperation practically control the financial, if not the general conduct of, affairs in Egypt. While still considered as Turkish territory, Egypt has been practically under the control of the Khedive for many years; and in 1879, owing to the aid given by England and France, the control was shared with those two governments through two comptrollers appointed by them. In 1882, however, France declined to render further special assistance in suppressing a military rebellion which had arisen; and in view of the

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assistance given singly by Great Britain, the control of France was abolished by the Khedive, and an agreement made that Great Britain should appoint an English financial adviser without whose concurrence no financial decision should be made. This condition has continued to the present time; thus giving the British Government great influence, if not absolute control, in Egyptian matters, and carrying her influence far south along the Nile toward her chain of possessions in South, Central, and East Africa.

Egyptian possessions at the south of Egypt proper formerly extended into the Sudan country and nearly to the head-waters of the Nile; but in 1882 that territory was taken possession of by the Mahdi, who held it continuously for sixteen years. In 1897, however, the British Government joined with the Egyptian Government for its reoccupation; and in 1898 it was recovered, and by an agreement between the two governments the British and Egyptian flags were planted together in all the territory thus reopened. Thus Egyptian Sudan, in which the British flag now flies, extends from the southern boundary of Egypt proper to the northern line of British East Africa; and its occupancy in this manner carries British influence, and practically British control, from Cairo to British East Africa, which, as already indicated, extends southward to within 200 miles of Lake Tanganyika, whose waters in turn extend to the northern boundary of British territory.

It will thus be seen that British influence, if not British control, is continuous in East Africa from "Cape to Cairo," with the single exception of the 600 miles between the northern boundary of British Central Africa and the southern boundary of British East Africa; and that 410 miles of this distance is traversed by the freely navigable waters of Lake Tanganyika; leaving less than 200 miles of land intervening between the chain of British territory at the south and the chain of British influence and territory at the north. This narrow strip which intervenes between the two lines of British territory is occupied on the east by German East Africa and on the west by the Kongo State; and it was for the purpose of obtaining the privilege of extending the Cape to Cairo Railroad through the German or Kongo territories that Mr. Rhodes visited the German and Belgian rulers on his recent trip to Europe. It is said that he received satisfactory assurances that he will be able to extend his line, probably through German territory, when this part of the great work is reached. The opportunity to construct a great central line of railway 6,000 miles long, from one end to the

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other of this great continent, and practically all in British territory, is extremely important from a political as well as a commercial standpoint, especially when it is considered that lateral lines are already being constructed toward it from both the eastern and the western coasts of the continent.

Great Britain's possessions in Africa are not confined to the eastern coast, though the chain of territory above described is doubtless by far the most important of her possessions, or of the possessions of any nation, on that continent. On the west coast she has British Gambia, Sierra Leone, Lagos, and the Gold Coast—small non-contiguous areas aggregating 80,000 square miles, and of comparatively little importance. Another of her possessions in West Africa, the Niger Territories, is of material importance; aggregating about 350,000 square miles, or equal in area to the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee; having a native population estimated at 25,000,000, and controlling the lower portion of the Niger River, one of the most important streams of Africa.

The commanding importance of the British possessions in Africa lies not alone in the contiguity of the eastern chain, or in the command of the Niger commerce given by the western section, but also in their physical and ethnological characteristics. The eastern and southern portions of Africa are its best section. Along the eastern part of the continent runs an elevated tableland, most of which is productive and fairly healthful. It is less dangerous to the white man than the central or western part, its elevation modifying the temperature of the tropical sections. In certain portions of it are located valuable deposits of coal, iron, gold, and diamonds. Equally important is the character of the population occupying a large share of British territory, especially in the east and southeast, where the Bantu tribes form the chief and almost the only native population. The Bantus are a vigorous, athletic, hardy people, well developed physically and intellectually; and while they are fierce fighters, they become valuable workers when assured of the peaceful and beneficial intentions of the whites. In addition to this, their language extends throughout the vast population of all of Southeast Africa; making communication with them much less difficult than in the Sudan and among the Negritos, where the languages of the numerous tribes seem to have little in common.

French possessions in Africa occupy a larger area than those of Great Britain, unless Egyptian territory is counted as within British control; the area of the various sections held by France being 3,028,000

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square miles, against 2,761,000 held by Great Britain. The French territory is, like that of Great Britain, mostly contiguous. But there the similarity in conditions ends. The territory controlled by France lies in the northwest part of the continent, and for physical and ethnological reasons is less valuable than that of Great Britain. Beginning with Algeria, which was taken from the Algerian pirates in 1830 as a just punishment for their depredations upon the commerce of the Mediterranean, the territory extends southward into the desert of Sahara, sweeping westward and down the coast beyond Morocco, to and beyond the Senegal, to the Gulf of Guinea, and extending eastwardly nearly half the breadth of the continent, which at that point is nearly 4,000 miles in width. Still farther south, directly under the equator, is another French possession, French Kongo, which extends northeast into the interior, and merges with the great body of French territory in the Sahara and the Sudan.

This vast territory under French control is, as already indicated, over 3,000,000 square miles in extent, or fully equal to the entire area of the United States, and has a population estimated at 28,155,000. That it is far less valuable than that of Great Britain, however, must be apparent at a glance. South of Algeria and Tunis the vast area claimed by France includes most of what is known as the Sahara Desert. It is inhabited by nomadic Moorish and Berber tribes, and is, commercially, of little value. Still south of the Sahara lies a densely populated and highly productive region, known as "The Sudan," or, literally, the land of the blacks. Here is a dense negro population occupying an area covered with luxurious tropical growths. It was the scene of the greatest activity in the years when slave-hunting was the chief occupation of the Mohammedan bands, which invaded it from the north and east.

German possessions in Africa consist of four non-contiguous areas. Three of them, Togoland, Kamerun, and German South Africa, lie on the west coast, but are separated by long stretches of foreign territory; while the fourth, German East Africa, lies on the eastern coast, just south of the equator. Notwithstanding their scattered condition and extremely tropical location, the German Government is giving much attention to their development; sending trained and educated men to govern and study them, establishing agricultural experiment gardens, building railroad and telegraph lines to the interior, and expending large sums of money in the construction of roads and in other permanent improvements. The total area of the four sections, which

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are known as protectorates, is 944,000 square miles, or about one-third that of the United States, and the population is about 11,000,000.

Portugal, the first of European nations to obtain a foothold on the African continent, now has two large territories, one on the west coast, the other on the east; both lying south of the equator. Their joint area is 790,000 square miles, or over one-fourth that of the United States, and their population is about 8,000,000. Angola, or Portuguese West Africa, on the Atlantic coast, is probably the less valuable of the two; though some progress is being made in railway and telegraph construction, and in establishing commercial relations with the natives. On the eastern coast, however, the Portuguese territory of Portuguese East Africa is well populated, productive, and prosperous. The ports of Lorenzo Marquez and Beira are now important as the chief lines of communication between the Boer republics and the outside world; a railroad line connecting Lorenzo Marquez with Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, and Johannesburg, the seat of the great gold-mines; while at Chinde, at the mouth of the Zambesi, ocean vessels transfer their freights to the river steamers, which carry it far into the interior. Their commerce is largely with the Transvaal; the local imports being about $7,000,000 and an "in transit" trade of $12,000,000 for the Transvaal.

Next in importance among the territories controlled by European powers is the Kongo State; for while Kongo is frequently termed a "Free State," it is, in fact, more completely under Belgian control than Cape Colony or Natal is under the control of the British Government. The Kongo State, when created by an agreement of the principal nations in 1885, was placed under the sovereignty of the King of Belgium, who had long felt an interest in that part of Africa, and had contributed largely to its exploration. In a will, dated August 2, 1889, he bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights in the State. In 1890 the territories of the State were declared inalienable; and a convention between the State and Belgium was made, renouncing to Belgium the "Kongo State" after a period of ten years. Meantime, the Belgium Government appoints the officers who control and direct its affairs; makes liberal appropriations for its development; and gets the lion's share of the commerce, which is rapidly growing. In 1898 the value of its commerce was about $8,000,000; the exports consisting of rubber, ivory, palm-nuts and -oil, and other tropical productions, and the imports of cloth, machinery, cutlery, and arms and ammunition.

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Of the other European possessions in Africa it is necessary to say but little. Egypt, as already remarked, is now much more under British than Turkish influence and control. Italy's possessions of Eritrea and Somaliland, on the extreme east, near the entrance to the Red Sea, have a small population, a small commerce, and a large expense account for the Italian Government. Spain's single African possession on the mainland, Rio de Oro, which lies on the northwestern coast just south of Morocco, has an extremely small population, and is little developed.

There are five independent governments in Africa: Morocco and Abyssinia, absolute monarchies; Liberia, the South African Republic, and the Orange Free State, republics. That these are physically insignificant, however, is shown by the fact that their combined area is only about one-half, and their population only about one-third, that of the Kongo State. Morocco, lying at the northeast, has an area of 219,000 square miles, a population of 5,000,000, and a commerce of about $12,000,000; and Abyssinia, on the east, has a population of 3,500,000, and a commerce so insignificant and difficult of measurement that no accurate estimate has been made regarding it. Both these governments have long existed in the present form; and their population, largely Moorish, makes little progress in civilization or commerce.

The Liberian Republic, which lies on the west coast, and whose population consists chiefly of liberated African slaves and their descendants, is making progress in intelligence, commerce, and peaceful extension of area, which now amounts to about 48,000 square miles. It has a total population of 1,500,000, and a commerce of $2,250,000. The exports consist of coffee, cocoa, rubber, and other tropical products, and the imports of clothing, breadstuffs, agricultural implements, and household requirements.

The two Boer republics, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, or "Transvaal," as it is usually termed, are the most important of the independent governments of Africa, and by far the most interesting at the present time. They are located in the southern part of the continent, just north of Cape Colony and Natal, and east of Bechuanaland and Rhodesia, but are shut in from the Indian Ocean by a narrow strip of British and Portuguese territory on the east. They have access to the eastern seaboard, however, by three railroad lines, one from East London in Cape Colony, one from Durban in Natal, and one from Lorenzo Marquez in Portuguese East Africa;

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while the railway running northward from Cape Town touches their borders on the west. Both these republics were formed by discontented Boers who left Cape Colony and Natal because of dissatisfaction with British rule; the Orange Free State settlement having been begun in 1836, and that of the Transvaal in 1843. The independence of the Orange Free State, however, was not acknowledged until 1854, while that of the Transvaal was recognized by the British Government in 1852.

The site of these settlements was chosen because of its value as a farming and grazing region; and it was not until many years later that the value of the natural deposits consisting of coal, iron, diamonds, and gold was recognized. The great diamond-mines of Kimberley are located near the western border of the Orange Free State, and were at first supposed to be within its lines. They finally came fully into possession of Great Britain by reason of treaties with and purchases made from the native chiefs who governed that section. But adjacent territory in the Orange Free State also yields diamonds in considerable quantities, although trifling compared with the enormous deposits of these precious stones at the Kimberley mines. The Johannesburg gold-mines, with their enormous production and still more enormous deposits of precious metal, are clearly within the territory of the Transvaal; and it is largely because of the refusal of the Transvaal Government to grant citizenship and other privileges to the British element developing those mines that the recent difficulties between the British and the Boer governments have arisen. The governments of the two Boer republics are entirely independent of each other; but the sympathy of kinship and historical association has led the Orange Free State to rally to the support of the Transvaal Government in its struggle against Great Britain, and it is possible that the fate of one will decide that of both these republics. The area of the Orange Free State is 48,000 square miles, or about the size of South Dakota; and the population is 208,000, of which 78,000 are of foreign birth or parentage.

The area of the South African Republic is 120,000 square miles, or about equal to that of New Mexico; and the population is 1,096,000, of which 346,000 are non-native. Of the latter, probably two-thirds are Boers, while the remainder are the gold-miners and their families and those engaged in commerce in the mining district. The Boers are, and have been for years, bitterly hostile to the British, basing their dissatisfaction on the charge that England crowded them out of Cape

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Colony and Natal and also once seized the Transvaal territory; that a desire again to control the latter is at the bottom of the recent demands; and that this desire is born of the presence of the vast gold deposits which have been discovered since the former occupancy by Great Britain, which began in 1877 and continued until 1881. There seems to be no doubt that the treaty of 1881, by which self-government was restored to the Transvaal, recognized Great Britain as a suzerain power; the chief question now at issue being, whether a second treaty between Great Britain and the Transvaal, made in 1884, did or did not leave to Great Britain any suzerain power aside from that relating to treaties between the Republic and other States.

Agriculture and stock-raising are the principal occupations of the Boers. The mining interests, which are extremely important, are almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners, largely English, but including also some Americans and a sprinkling of Germans, Irish, French, and Australians. Participation by those of foreign birth in the making of the laws of the South African Republic is practically denied by a somewhat unique regulation. The latter places the origination and enactment of most of the important laws in the upper chamber of the Parliament, of which only "first-class burghers" can become members; the first-class burghers being only those who were residents prior to the beginning of British control in 1877 or those since taking part in the wars of the Republic, and the male descendants of both these classes. Foreigners may become second-class burghers on naturalization after two years' residence, but as second-class burghers cannot participate in the important law-making or in the election of President, this privilege is considered of little value.

The commerce of Africa to-day amounts to about $750,000,000 annually. This is at present chiefly with the great mining and agricultural section at the south, and with the fringe of European settlements which have been built up along the coasts, beginning at the north where European civilization long since created a foreign commerce. The total imports of all Africa, so far as they can be gathered from the statements of the officials of the various territories and governments, amount to $395,000,000, and the exports to $346,000,000. The lion's share of the commerce is with England, except in Algeria, where most of the commerce is with France. The exports from the United States to Africa are, however, growing rapidly, being now about $18,000,000 annually against about $4,000,000 a decade ago.

The class of material imported differs greatly according to the sec-

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tion for which it is intended. If it is for the north of Africa, *i.e.*, for Egypt, Tunis, Tripoli, Algeria, and Morocco, with their long-established customs, which differ so widely from those of Europe or America, the leading imports are silks, cottons of the higher grade, haberdashery, cutlery, arms and ammunition, mineral oil, spirits, tobacco, jewelry, clocks and watches, etc. If it is for the trading posts on the eastern and western coasts, which direct their attention chiefly to an exchange of the white man's products for the ivory, rubber, and palm-oil of the natives, the class of goods wanted is cottons of the coarser grades, cheap and showy articles of clothing, beads, cutlery, salt, spirits, tobacco, rice, ironware, cooking utensils, etc. If it is for the people of Cape Colony and Natal, the importations consist of cotton and woollen goods, agricultural implements, manufactures of iron and steel, machinery of various kinds, groceries, haberdashery, etc., etc. If it is for the mining regions, they consist largely of strong cotton and woollen goods for wearing apparel, boots and shoes, meats, flour, coffee, groceries, and other foodstuffs, mineral oils, machinery for mining and transportation purposes, and goods of this general class. The exports differ as widely as do the imports, and are governed by the same general climatic and industrial conditions which control the wants of the consumers. From North Africa the exports are cereals, raw cotton, dates and other tropical fruits, olive-oil, dye-woods, cork, sponges, hides and leather. From the coast stations in the tropical sections the exports are chiefly palm-nuts and palm-oil, rubber, gum, ivory, and sesame. From the South African colonies the exports are wool, goat-hair, hides, ostrich feathers, grain, and sugar, while from the mining regions the exports are gold and diamonds.

The mining regions are naturally receiving much attention at present, more, indeed, than any other part of Africa. And it is not at all surprising that this should be so. Located in a single section of Africa, within 300 miles of each other, lie the greatest gold- and diamond-mines of the world. At Kimberley, just outside the western border of the Orange Free State, 98 per cent of the diamonds of the world are now produced; and so plentiful is the supply, and such is the ease of obtaining them, that the owners of the property a few years ago found it necessary to make an agreement limiting production, in order to avoid overstocking the world's market, and greatly reducing the price of diamonds. They now turn out annually about $25,000,000 worth of uncut diamonds, which, when cut, become worth about double that sum; and the extent of the supply and the limited cost of production

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have enabled them practically to cause a cessation of attempts at diamond production elsewhere.

At Johannesburg, 300 miles to the northeast of Kimberley, are the greatest gold-mines known to the civilized world. They produce more gold to-day than any other mines, and the geological conditions are so well developed, that the existence of enormous quantities of the precious metal in that immediate locality is practically assured. The value of the gold deposits "in sight" at Johannesburg is estimated at $3,500,000,000. The annual product is now between $50,000,000 and $60,000,000; having steadily and rapidly increased since the mines were opened in 1884. The mines employ about 10,000 whites and 75,000 natives; the claims cover about 500,000 acres; and the capital invested is about $125,000,000.

The productions and the commerce of the interior of Africa have developed very slowly up to this time; but they seem likely to make rapid advances in the near future. As already indicated, access to the interior has been until recently practically barred by the existence of falls or rapids near the mouth of each of the great rivers which penetrate to the interior. The Senegal on the northwest coast, with a navigable length of 500 miles; the Zambesi on the east, navigable about 600 miles; the Niger, navigable 1,000 miles; the Kongo, navigable 2,000 miles; and the Nile, navigable nearly 3,000 miles, all have this peculiarity of obstruction at or near the mouth; and it is only recently that the 7,000 miles of navigable streams of interior Africa have been opened to the explorers and to commerce. The construction of railways around the falls of the Kongo and the Nile, the discovery of a passageway to the Upper Zambesi, and the agreement by which all nations making use of the Niger should aid in its development have revolutionized water traffic in Africa, and must bring the interior much more into touch with the outside world than ever before. In addition, the magnificent lakes in the central eastern part of the continent promise great usefulness as commerce carriers; and steamers are already plying on some of them.

Those latest agencies for the cultivation of commerce and the dissemination of civilization and intelligence, the railroad, the telegraph, and the telephone, are rapidly making their way in Africa, and promise great developments in the near future. Nearly 4,000 miles of railway already skirt the Mediterranean coast and extend far southward along the Nile Valley; about 3,000 miles are constructed in Southern Africa, extending northward from Cape Colony and Natal far into the

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interior; there are also lines extending from Portuguese East Africa on the Indian Ocean to the gold-mines of the Transvaal; the Germans and British are pushing lines from the eastern coast westward toward the Great Lakes of Central Africa; and the British, Portuguese, Germans, French, and Belgians are already constructing various short lines toward the interior from the western coast. It may be safely estimated that the length of railroad lines in Africa now constructed or under actual construction is about 10,000 miles; and with such magnificent projects as the Cape to Cairo system and the proposed French lines across the Sahara and through the Sudan country, the prospects are bright for a rapid development of interior Africa.

It would not be proper to close this discussion of the railroad and general development of Africa without some more detailed discussion of the great Cape to Cairo Railroad proposition of Mr. Cecil Rhodes—a system which has made much greater progress than is generally supposed, and which seems likely to become an accomplished fact early in the twentieth century.

The distance from Cape to Cairo in an air-line is about 5,000 miles; but in the line which a railroad must follow it would probably be nearer 6,000. Several years ago Mr. Rhodes projected a telegraph line from Cape to Cairo, and raised the necessary funds for it. It is being pushed forward from both ends, so that considerably more than one-half is now completed. It is believed that the length of this telegraph line, when completed, will be in the neighborhood of 6,000 miles. The railroad will probably be somewhat longer, unless it takes advantage of Lakes Tanganyika, Nyanza, and Nyassa, which furnish a combined navigable length of over 1,000 miles. It is understood, however, that Mr. Rhodes prefers finally to make the rail system from Cape to Cairo a continuous one, and thus prevent the loss of time and labor which would occur if the freights and passengers were transferred from rail to lake and lake to rail several times *en route*.

As already indicated, a larger share of the proposed road is completed than is generally understood. A line now runs northward from Cape Town to Bulawayo, in Rhodesia, a distance of 1,360 miles, and is being pushed still farther northward. From Bulawayo to Lake Tanganyika is about 1,000 miles; and this Mr. Rhodes hopes to reach by 1905. Lake Tanganyika is 410 miles long; and it is likely that its waters will be utilized for a time at least for transferring northwardly the freights and passengers reaching its southern end. Meantime the railroad from Cairo is being pushed southwardly to meet the line which is

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coming from the Cape northwardly. It has already been constructed to Atbara, where American contractors have just finished the steel bridge in a time which British bridge-builders considered impossible; and the line is being pushed forward to Khartoum from that point.

Khartoum is 1,300 miles from Cairo; so that when work on the section from Atbara to Khartoum is completed, as it will be within a few months, the two gaps to be filled in will be from Khartoum to the north end of Lake Tanganyika, a distance of 1,700 miles, and the 950 miles from the south end of Lake Tanganyika to Bulawayo; *i.e.*, 2,700 miles in all. Thus, of the necessary land length, assuming that at least the 410 miles length of Lake Tanganyika will be at first utilized, about one-half will be finished on the completion of the section from Atbara to Khartoum, within the next few months. The remaining 2,700 miles will, it is estimated, cost $60,000,000; and Mr. Rhodes confidently predicts its completion before the year 1910.

The following table shows the area, total population, foreign population, and imports and exports of the territory in Africa held by each European Government and by the independent States of that continent, at the present time, so far as can be ascertained. It is proper to add, however, that the statistics of area and population, especially the latter, are in many cases necessarily estimates.

	Area.	Total Population.	Foreign Population.	Pop. per Sq. Mile.	Imports.	Exports.
French Africa	3,028,000	28,155,000	922,000	9.3	$70,116,000	$69,354,000
British "	2,761,000	35,160,000	455,000	12.8	131,398,000	131,885,000
Turkish "	1,750,000	21,300,000	113,000	12.2	54,091,000	62,548,000
German "	944,000	11,270,000	4,000	12.0	4,993,000	2,349,000
Belgian "	900,000	30,000,000	2,000	33.3	4,522,000	3,309,000
Portuguese "	790,000	8,059,000	3,000	10.2	11,863,000	6,730,000
Spanish "	243,000	36,000	.....	0.5	.....	.....
Italian "	188,000	850,000	.....	4.5	.....	.....
Independent States.						
Morocco.....	219,000	5,000,000	.....	22.8	6,402,000	6,261,000
Abyssinia	150,000	3,500,000	.....	23.3	.....	.....
South African Republic	120,000	1,096,000	346,000	9.2	104,703,000	53,532,000
Orange Free State..	48,500	208,000	78,000	4.3	5,994,000	8,712,000
Liberia.....	48,000	1,500,000	25,000	31.3	1,217,000	1,034,000
Total	11,189,500	146,133,000	1,948,000	....	$395,299,000	$345,714,000

NOTE.—The above area and population only include territory claimed by the various European States or by the independent governments. The total estimated area is 11,875,000 square miles, and the estimated population, 150,000,000.

O. P. AUSTIN.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOUTH.

THE industrial awakening which is stirring our land from boundary to boundary is pleasant to contemplate ; but in no section are its processes amazing save in the South, where the preceding lethargy was long and marked. It is worth the nation's while to scan with keen vision the rapidly changing conditions here ; for they signify profoundly to the united people of the republic.

No bridge can be stronger than its weakest span : no nation's prosperity can touch a better level than the average of its producing classes ; and, during the third of a century following the outbreak of the Civil War, that average dropped perilously low among the millions of producers who have their being in the Southern States of our Union.

The inevitable law of fitness was not in full operation when all the cotton mills of this country were located in New England and adjoining sections, while to the Gulf and South Atlantic States was left the one task which New England could not perform ; that is, producing the raw material for those distant mills. True, natural fitness stamped half the situation. In the East was an abundance of water power, building stone in lavish plenty, and a class of inhabitants endued with even more than the initiative, vigor, and industry of their British and Dutch antecedents.

Matters took their own lame course and hobbled on until several generations were done with. The Africans brought across the ocean in the slave ships of the New Englanders drifted to the warm, wide fields of the South, where alone they could be utilized, but where in time they were to become the sternest curse that a great nation must wrestle with. The Cavalier and Huguenot population of Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, following the instincts of their blood, were glad enough to leave all trading and manufacturing to their Northern cousins, while they themselves dropped into the leisurely and lordly life that the great plantations fostered.

Thus, the East grew strong by striving, and next grew rich, and later began to populate and establish in thrift and prosperity a great

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West. In the South the gentlemen lived at ease, while the slaves produced the cotton that Northern mills must weave into the clothes of the nation; but there grew up no stable, sinewy, wealth-making middle class. It took a mighty and tragic upheaval to overthrow these established phases; and after the upheaval came the protracted pause of ruin that threatened never to give place to reaction.

"Can the South ever retrieve?" "Or is her part played in the development of the western world? Will she henceforth be given over to nothing better than small agricultural endeavors?" were questions ever heard through those dark days.

The complete answer was long in coming. But it is here at last; and it is no riddle to read. A mere newspaper skimmer must be struck by the contrast between the daily reports of the cotton industry in New England and those from the Southern States. The eye will pass in the same column from item to item indicating the astonishing manufacturing development in the Carolinas, Georgia, or Alabama, and this next to paragraph after paragraph descriptive of troubles in the Eastern factory towns, such as cuts in wages, shut-downs, lock-outs, strikes, direful complainings from both capital and labor—all the disasters that drag in the train of a once profitable industry dropping into a sure decline. It requires no philosopher to read between the lines when the press despatches state that Massachusetts is sending a commission to South Carolina to report on the cotton mills of the latter.

Since figures are of utmost importance, it will not be out of place to present here certain data, recently tabulated by the "Manufacturers' Record" of Baltimore, to show the progress the South has made in some particulars, during the difficult years between 1880 and 1899.

	1880.	1899.
Railroad mileage	20,600	50,000
Cotton crop, bales	5,750,000	11,199,000
Cotton consumption in Southern mills, bales	233,886	1,231,000
Capital invested in Southern cotton mills	$21,900,000	$125,000,000
Number of spindles in Southern cotton mills	667,000	5,000,000
Grain produced, bushels	431,000,000	736,600,000
Capital invested in Southern manufacturing	$257,200,000	$1,000,000,000
Value of Southern manufactured products	$457,400,000	$1,500,000,000
Wages paid to factory hands in South	$75,900,000	$350,000,000
Capital invested in cottonseed-oil manufacturing	$3,500,000	$40,000,000
Pig iron produced, tons	397,000	2,500,000
Coal mined, tons	6,000,000	40,000,000

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If this seems small to you, recall some of the evils that beset us but a generation ago. Our labor system was overthrown, and only the most unseemly elements existed out of which to construct a new one. Three billions of dollars' worth of property was swept at one stroke from our possession, without the suggestion of reimbursement; and very much more not taken into account was destroyed by the ravages of war, or rendered worthless by the radical changes attendant upon it. Half a million men out of our slim Caucasian population were dead or disabled in their prime. Remember, if you please, in this connection, that all the States and parts of States declared to be "in rebellion" by President Lincoln's proclamation of January, 1863, could now be populated as densely by whites as they were populated by them at that time, by scattering over them only the present inhabitants of Greater New York!

This seems enough; yet look a little further. Our section was in the crudest state of development—if it might be said to have been developed at all. Indeed so untaught in agricultural science or so profligate of their resources had the controllers of slave labor been, that field after field, originally fertile, had been impoverished and abandoned in from one to two decades of cultivation. It may startle some to hear the statement that these bad methods continued until 5,000 square miles of once productive Southern land had been turned out as done with and dead; while ten times that area had suffered serious impoverishment. To these evils of reckless and unskilled tillage was added the natural exhaustion of much of the best soil in Virginia and North Carolina consequent upon tobacco culture.

From a situation so difficult the Southern people have worked themselves out with a vigor, energy, self-denial, and patient endurance never surpassed; and to-day they stand abreast with sister sections not in wealth it is true, but in business advantages and in immediately realizable economic possibilities. Indeed, it is clear that the whole tendency of our country at present is toward an equalization of all advantages save such as Nature has given in climate, soil, and other physical features. While the West feeds both on her grains and meat, the East will not hold despotic control over American manufactures and commerce, nor the South be written down as wholly agricultural.

But how can the South have achieved a genuine emancipation from such fetters in so brief a time? "This is revolutionary, and if it has gone as far as you claim, a reaction will follow," the short-sighted or pessimistic are ready to cry. No: the processes have been of that slow

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and toilsome kind called evolution. Natural growth does not need to turn backward; no more does the industrial development so hardly won by this section demand a sequent period of reaction.

When the war closed cotton was bringing $1 per pound, not in that money which no Southerner can yet bear to hear called spurious, but which still cannot be accepted as a true measure of valuation; but $1 per pound in the best coin of this or any other realm. But we had little to sell at that price. During four years our soil, almost our sole capital, had brought the most meagre returns; for it was uncultivated except by a few slaves and feeble old men or delicately reared women and children; and such cultivation as they gave was necessarily directed to food products.

The disheartened Confederates came home—the few who came home at all—to bare fields; and it was natural that, outside of the tobacco, rice, and sugar belts, they should once again think of cotton as their sole bulwark against want. They went to work without a day's delay, for the season was already far advanced; and in that very year, 1865, they raised 2,278,000 bales. For several years little else was done but producing the precious stuff, which continued to command premium prices, ranging from forty cents to sixty cents per pound; thus seeming to confirm its ante-bellum sovereignty and prolonging the fatal period of inactivity in other lines of production. The cotton area was steadily extended, and acreage in the original area was increased.

Meantime, the tenant system of labor sprang up—a sorry growth out of our poverty, disorder, and bewilderment. Under this system, the large plantations continued intact for a long time; the major portion or even the whole of each being let out year by year to the freed blacks or landless whites at a rental consisting of a definite number of bales of cotton or a certain percentage of the entire cotton crop. The renters were bound by contract to raise cotton—chiefly or altogether. It is a happy thing for the South that changing industrial conditions have involved the decay of this pernicious tenant system; that the great landed estates are becoming things of a past day; and that energetic men who now live by agricultural pursuits, in this territory, are found to own each his farm, no matter how small, owning with it the right to plant it in whatever will bring him the best and most needed returns.

When the production of the staple reached the 5,000,000 bales limit its price had dropped to ten cents per pound. To thousands of

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thoughtful minds the continued tendency to decrease in price had long seemed ominous. True, it had been as low as four and three-quarter cents more than once before the war ; but at those times it was merely a fluctuation, sure to be followed by an upward leaping. Moreover, it was chiefly the rich planters who were then affected by such a decline ; and they could easily bear it. But now the downward tendency was steady, and it foreboded suffering to great masses. The monarch was clearly passing ; and his decay raised keen and palpitating questions.

But there were from the first wise men among us who measured well our native resources and possibilities ; and this class, taught and trained no less by the exigencies of the situation than by one another, happily increased. The reform cry sounded forth more and more clearly from these. Change purposes and methods wholly, they pleaded. Diversify products to the utmost limits of our liberal climate and soil. Reclaim our waste lands ; rotate crops ; raise grains, hay, small crops of every type, stock of all kinds. Make cheese and butter ; turn our wasting grapes and berries into fine wines and sterilized fruit juices ; let the peaches, cherries, and vegetables, that have been left to ruin, now go to Northern markets fresh or from our own canneries. Finally, let us invest every cent of capital we have or can borrow or can coax to come here in developing our mineral, forest, and marine resources, and in building factories ; pushing steadily toward the ultimate point of complete monopoly of all manufactures of which we produce the raw material.

What these men called upon others to do, they kept illustrating each in his small individual way. Such leading, especially when coupled with the hard driving of difficult conditions in the rear, must in the end show the results that are aimed at. Some of these results are already here ; others are barely in sight ; yet others are a part of our well-grounded hopes for the future. The South has not quit raising cotton ; and it is far from any one's desire that she should do so. She has not even held herself to the limit she reached when overproduction was first cried, and the price was pressed down to ten cents. On the contrary, with her growing and often unheeding population, she has pursued the opposite course. Last year she harvested 11,199,000 bales, which brought the producers something like $20 per bale. Yet this is a matter that will right itself as other balances swing true. The near future points to a reasonable cotton production at a reasonable price ; but it is not possible in the present transition period to say what those figures will be.

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From one point of view, it may seem that this section is in a fair way to be shortly in a worse case than ever before. Cotton has been forced to a price that would soon beggar an all-cotton country; while our present relation to West Indian and other islands affords formidable rivals in tobacco, sugar, and rice production. But there are other considerations. It is Southern seaboard towns that must be the chief ports for the United States trade with the West Indies; it is Savannah, Fernandina, Jacksonville, Tampa, Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans, Port Arthur, and Galveston that will control the bulk of this new commerce, which promises to become very large within a few years. It is even now largely Southern cattle, stock, iron, steel, and cotton manufactures that are finding their way through these ports to Cuba; and this, by the "inevitable logic of the situation," will become more and more completely true. The rivalry in sugar and other of our native products will serve only to drive us into keener competition with New England in the manufacture of our own raw material, with the wider East in commerce, and with the West in grains, cattle, and pork.

Look at this! Ten years back 90 per cent of the pork used in the Gulf States was purchased from the great packing houses in Kansas City, Chicago, and Cincinnati. To-day, every progressive farmer in these States is straining a point to raise all of his own meat instead of merely the goodly proportion that he raised last year; and the large pork-packing house which is being built at McKinney, Texas, is not the first in that territory. The enormous increase in cattle and in dairy products is equally as noteworthy; and the increase in small crops goes with these.

As to grains, the estimate for 1899 of the Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, Hon. O. B. Stevens, was published June 20; and it teems with significance. "The acreage in corn," he states, "has been increased 24 per cent over last year. Wheat shows an increase of 15 per cent. It would have been much higher had the weather conditions for seeding last fall been favorable. We are encouraged to believe that in the future Georgia will raise her own corn and wheat and have this grain ground into meal and flour within her own borders." He proceeds to state that the sale of commercial fertilizers is 21 per cent below that of last year, and that the cotton acreage throughout the entire belt is reduced, according to his estimate, at least 15 per cent. The Commissioners of other States have issued bulletins of similar import; and, despite some pessimistic testimony before the late Industrial Com-

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mission at Washington, even the poorest farmers are feeling that communicable elation which spreads in the wake of good tidings.

There is scarcely a daily paper without the announcement of new flour-mills in some Gulf or South Atlantic State; such mills being invariably locally capitalized, and with ample resources. A new elevator with a capacity of 1,000,000 bushels is being erected at Galveston, Texas. As I write, a wheat convention—a notable gathering—is sitting at Macon, Georgia; and a call is issued for a similar body to meet at Greenwood, South Carolina. The "Atlanta Journal," which, with a large number of our other leading newspapers, has taken up vigorously the crusade for the attainment of that lasting prosperity to be won by the agricultural classes only through a rational diversification of crops, is now coöperating with the State Chemist in a number of tests designed to gauge thoroughly the value of Southern wheat as compared with that of the West. From Columbia, South Carolina, comes the information that more than a dozen roller-mills have been built in that State during the spring and summer, all of which are now running on full time, some working day and night; and that the output from them sells readily, in many cases bringing fifty cents per barrel above the market price, as the people generally prefer it to Western adulterations.

Again, a great "Industrial Convention" has been called to meet at Huntsville, Alabama, that State whose miraculously developing iron and other mineral resources now promise to set her at the head of all her sisters in native gifts, and whose far-reaching iron foundries, steel plants, glass works, car factories, and kindred industries are gaining for her a precedence in the utilization of her own raw materials.

But the greatest strides of all are being made in cotton manufactures. In 1880, when we harvested nearly six million bales, our own mills consumed just 4 per cent of that amount; and on the rest we paid transportation to distant markets, afterward paying also large premiums on quantities of the goods manufactured out of that very cotton. Last season we raised a trifle under twice as much as we did eighteen years ago; but we consumed something over 11 per cent of it in our own mills. The present year will show that percentage to be greatly raised; for all manufacturing interests in the South are increasing 60 per cent faster than in this quarter of last year. Raleigh, Greensboro, and Winston, North Carolina, Abbeville, Newberry, and Gaffney, South Carolina, Augusta, Columbus, and West Point,

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Georgia, are developing into great mill centres, while each week sees more than one new factory in some smaller town of these or neighboring States ; such minor factories being locally capitalized at from $60,000 upward. It is estimated that so recently as 1890 there were only 1,725,000 spindles in the entire South ; whereas over 1,000,000 new ones were planned for during the first five months of this year. There is ample proof that many of these minor mills paid 8 per cent dividend to their stockholders at the close of the last fiscal year ; while the larger ones are easily earning from 12 to 20 per cent, and this alone is creating new ones very rapidly.

Besides this, there are now countless proselytizers—by word of mouth or printed pamphlets—among the prosperous farmers and country bankers, who daily declare, as does President Walker of the Monroe Cotton Mills, as follows :

"every bale of cotton produced in Georgia should be spun in Georgia. There is no such thing as too many mills in the South so long as a single bale of cotton is shipped to New England or across the water. I am tired of seeing our farmers sell their cotton at $25 per bale to foreign manufacturers and buy it back in its manufactured state at from $60 to $75, the difference between the price received and the price paid having gone to pay freight, to enrich foreign manufacturers, and to feed and clothe the poor of other countries, while our own worthy poor are left to spend their lives in misery and want."

Such preaching is not slow to bring results when object-lessons in the same line are at hand for ready eyes and ears. Then the amazing growth of textile institutions, once unheard of in the South, not only conduces to the same desirable end, but is a powerful element in strengthening our manufacturing movement into something vital and durable.

In other industrial lines, also, the new activity is very marked. Sheep-raising is looked after more and more closely, especially on the Tennessee and North Carolina hills ; and woollen mills are following the cotton. Naval stores are commanding greater attention. Lumber exports are expanding ; and forestry is at last being studied scientifically. Vast stores of phosphates, which so trusted an economist as Mr. Edward Atkinson declares sufficient to fertilize all the grain and cotton lands of the United States for centuries to come, have been opened up in Florida and the Carolinas. Kaolin beds of great richness and admirable quality are being worked in several of the Gulf States. The fine pressed bricks of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida are being sold in immense quantities to foreign dealers. In Atlanta there are extensive

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terra-cotta works, which ship great quantities of their goods to distant markets. Georgia and Tennessee marble and granite have been lately used for many of the most magnificent edifices of Northern cities, as, for example, St. Luke's Hospital, New York.

In our marine resources, especially those of the lavishly rich Gulf of Mexico, on which we have an entire littoral of 6,000 miles, there is measureless wealth ; and we are reaping it in freer quantities each season. Sponges, oysters, and other fishery products are bringing us increasing millions every year. To these, Florida, with her 58,680 square miles of fruitful land in a half-tropical climate, is constantly adding new and unique industries, such as her recently inaugurated, and wonderfully successful, ostrich-farming. An official report containing the last estimate of this State's annual exports places their total value at $30,925,475.

To rival some of Florida's unique industries, South Carolina comes forward to exhibit her success in tea-raising. A good grade of the Pinehurst tea is retailing the present season at $1 per pound, in American and foreign markets, while the very fine grades are selling at fancy prices.

It is impossible to trace out in a brief space all the details of the new development. But enough has been set forth in the present article to prove that this industrial quickening means life, full and rich and happy, to that part of our great country which has lain so long in the stupor of poverty and despair. LEONORA BECK ELLIS.

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THE FUNDAMENTALS OF FICTION.

Good novel-making, technically viewed, rests four-square upon invention (plot), construction, characterization, and description. These may be called the fundamentals of fiction. The form of literature known as the story is often spoken of carelessly or in shallow wise as if its manner—its style or diction—were the chief thing, even the only thing. "Have you read so and so?" queries one lady of another in the car. "The idea isn't anything, but then, you know, Brown writes so well! His style is so good!" Again, with the great class of uncritical readers, represented in the lower grade by the blue-clothed messenger boy in the car immersed in the latest number of the "Fireside Companion," plot outweighs every other consideration. Possibly it does with the majority of all novel-lovers.

But if, looking to the permanent successes and great names of fiction, we ask ourselves what qualities constitute the essentials of fiction, we shall be likely to settle on these fundamental four. Furthermore, if forced to pick out the quality ministering most to the successful result, we must, I fancy, reply: character-creation. This judgment may fall strange on the ear nowadays, because other traits are emphasized —construction or style, for example. Indeed, if we examine the clever work of present-day novelists, we shall find that what often gives them reputation is ability in ways aside from this central, this solar, gift of characterization. Compared with it, invention and construction are secondary; description and style, important as they may be in the abstract, are as naught. A novel without salient character-drawing, whatever its merits in other directions, can never take high rank: it is almost certainly a failure foredoomed.

The truth of the proposition becomes apparent when we come to apply it and illustrate by it. The firm, steady hold upon the public of certain fictionists, who are more or less roughly handled by critics, is easily explained, if we agree to this central post of importance held by character-limning. Master improvisers like Dumas and Scott showed their genius just here. Their personages live; the robust types they created are realized to the imaginations of readers; so that to kill off

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the sense of their existence would, literally, leave the actual world lonelier for many of us. The folk next door are real: we know it in a perfunctory way. But they are phantoms compared with the verity of the Three Guardsmen, or of Di Vernon and Dandie Dinmont.

Dickens, to take a later novelist, is perhaps the best possible example of this paramount power which excuses shortcomings in other directions. Is there any other maker of story in modern English literature—after all allowances have been made, and not forgetting that some current criticism of the man of Gadshill will have it that he is for a more careless age—who has begun to furnish such a portrait-gallery of worthies and adorable grotesques—a motley crowd whom we all know and enjoy and love? I wot not. The fact that Dickens is at times a trifle inchoate or careless in his English, or allows his exuberance to lead him into exaggeration, or fails to blend perfectly the discordant elements of comedy and tragedy, sinks into insignificance when set over against such a faculty as this. He was a veritable giant here.

Scott, too, was by no means firm-handed in the matter of construction; his huddled endings so-called—that is, his inability to close a book in due proportion to its main action and in a way to make the issue seem inevitable—must be conceded to critical scrutiny. The reason of it lies in this same power he had in character-conception. When he had fully sketched in his types, had presented them full-view to the audience, his interest in their case waned a little. Hence he was not so adept in getting rid of them neatly, as the novelist with an eye to a good finish must, unless he supinely adopt the invertebrate method of a Henry James and dismiss the notion of any plot or argument at all for the story, which may be high art, but is chilling in effect upon the patrons. The very methods of work of the Abbotsford Sage were inimical to the highest results of construction. He did not make a *scenario*, blocking out his work and seeing it in the round as he began to write. Rather, his imagination fired by a scene or a character, he reeled off page after page of manuscript, throwing them upon the floor, with no thought of revision.

Dickens, for his part, was all his days under the bondage of serial publication. He wrote with twenty-parts in mind; and his tales would have been different in length, management, and even in the number of actors, had he been independent of this practical restriction. One has only to read "Forster's Life" to be impressed by this fact. It was not until comparatively late in his career that he gave

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much care to the matter of construction. To see how an artistic conscience developed in him with experience, compare early works like "Pickwick Papers" and "Nicholas Nickleby" with a late success, "Great Expectations."

Fecundity of invention may or may not consist with this most precious gift of character-creation. Scott no doubt may be said to have had a decided instinct for fable, even for plot. Dickens possessed it in a less degree. Books containing his masterpieces of humorous portraiture—"Chuzzlewit," "Dombey," "Bleak House," and "Copperfield" are in illustration—are either slight or loose-jointed or unconvincing as to plot. The story in which above all others he tried avowedly to substitute serious incident for wealth of characterization, "The Tale of Two Cities," has never ranked among his major performances. "Great Expectations" is almost his only book of which it may be declared that a well-conceived fable is successfully handled. Yet Dickens certainly had a feeling for plot. It would be more accurate, therefore, to say that he never quite gained assured mastery in the proper manipulation of the story-strands. "Little Dorrit," for example, is a comparative failure, not so much because its serious idea—the fortunes of the Dorrits in relation to the mystery of Mrs. Clennam—fails in interest, as because the ample satiric characterization, centring around the Circumlocution Office, overloads and confuses the story. This great writer was too rich in comic inspiration not to be led into digressions and all sorts of fascinating departures complicating the movement of the narrative, but at the same time, and to the everlasting advantage of the world of readers, widening the field of observation and enriching fiction with relishable pictures of humanity.

With Thackeray plot is always secondary and, for the most part, noticeably slight. So true is this that, assuming incident to be a requisite of the novel, "Vanity Fair" and "Pendennis" are hardly to be called novels at all; being, rather, satiric social sketches. In "Esmond," which as an historical romance demands plot more than his other studies of life, the same lack is easily recognized. It is characterization first, last, and all the time, with Thackeray. Thousands know Becky Sharp intimately who would be hard put to it to outline the plot in which she is a protagonist. The naturalness, distinctness, and variety of his character-types, these are the qualities which claim our regard and admiration; and vastly dissimilar as Dickens is from his great fellow of the earlier Victorian fiction, much the same description applies to him.

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In point of style, it is the fashion to laud Thackeray at the expense of the other; and that artist against artist, the preference is right enough cannot be denied. Dickens was always an unequal writer of English; and there is no book of his which as a whole does not reveal carelessnesses, of which Thackeray was seldom, if ever, guilty. But, I would venture to say, the contrast has been exaggerated. He of Gadshill commanded a diction of extraordinary vigor and idiomatic freshness and vivacity. Why should we not see it and say it? With a natural gift for expression, his reading in his youth was wonderfully well adapted to future results. He saturated himself with Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, with Addison and Steele. It gave him a grip on the vernacular, which grew stronger with the years. He wrote all through his career under the goad, and had the demerits of the hasty producer; but to speak as if Dickens had no grace nor force of diction —and the position has been fashionable of late—is simply nonsense. He often surpasses the writer who is more correct, just in proportion as the idiomatic is more precious than the merely proper.

The only other major novelist of the Victorian mid-century, George Eliot, furnishes further food for reflection. The clear-eyed and sure-handed way in which she presents the middle-class country types, this it is which gives her so unassailable a place. When one thinks of her stories, one thinks perforce, and first of all, of her personages, men and women—Silas, Adam, Hetty, Mrs. Poyser, Maggie and her brother, Dorothea and Causabon, Tito, Deronda. Such other valuable adjuncts as situations, descriptions, style, come in for subsequent appreciation; but it is this great woman's characters who arise as witnesses to her art and her genius. George Eliot's earlier training in the ways of scholarship and her inherent proneness to psychologic philosophizing could not, in the morning blush of literary creation, quench her native gift for characterization. Nor, however much the former encroached upon the latter, was the gift ever disastrously obscured until the evening day of "Theophrastus Such." The tendency was dangerous, even for a nature of her calibre: with a lesser writer it is sure to make trouble. We are observing to-day how Mrs. Humphry Ward gains in the power of characterization and, in fact, in all ways as an artist, by so much as she eschews definite, dogmatic purpose. The parallel is especially interesting, because in some prime requisites—in seriousness, in breadth of view, in largeness and nobility of spirit—Mrs. Ward, more than any other current fictionist, represents the elder woman. The loss in the author of "Marcella" of variety and strength

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of character-making, although in part a personal matter, is due in some measure to the change that has come over our literary ideals.

This fact, that the novelist stands or falls by characterization, has its interesting application when we come to look at later novel-making. It explains the relatively limited appeal of leaders cried up by critics whose admiration for construction, description, and style make them forget the preëminent thing. Of course, we must grant that the perfect novel—like the perfect man, a purely hypothetical creature—will have all the qualities in due proportion : fresh invention, masterful development, characters that live and move and have their being, description full of picturesqueness and power, all conveyed in a diction that of itself means literature. But, humanly speaking, this is the unattainable ideal or, at least, the unattained. Conceding this much, it may be stated boldly that where the present-day fictionist fails above all else is in character—the sign, *par excellence*, of the creator. A few years ago it would have been in consonance with the facts to say that he was weak in invention as well. But now, with romances appearing daily, and startling plots in the very air one breathes, this lack is less felt. But character-making, yes. Nor can the blame justly be laid on the public, which is always eager to welcome a piece of veritable character-limning.

As I write, "David Harum" is the best selling story—and therefore book, since fiction still has a corner on literature. Why is this? Because it contains one thoroughly racy and enjoyable character ; the rest is naught. The book is not a novel. It has no plot worth mentioning, and but little construction ; being a purely conventional treatment of the love-motif. The nominal hero's only mortal use is, that Uncle David may have some one to talk to steadily. But the tale has a *bona fide* creation in David himself ; and this is enough to give it a remarkable, and deserved, popularity. Yet reflect a moment that there is not even a second-rate novel by Dickens which does not contain, I will not say one, but half a dozen, humorous character-types, any one of which might be named as an offset to the shrewd, kindly horse-trader and country banker. This is not said in the spirit of detraction, but merely to bring home the thought that we have fallen on a paucity of real character-creation, which results in an almost pathetically cordial reception for it when a modicum of it is proffered.

Nor is it Jingoism, by the way, to remark that the introduction of some of the Southern and Western types so saliently depicted by younger American novelists—Page and Harris, Stuart, Thanet, Wis-

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ter, Garland, Chopin, Fernald, and others—is as hopeful a sign as current fiction can show, and one hardly to be paralleled in England. In the earlier days Bret Harte took a unique place because of this same power, albeit not always used aright. Who, let us inquire, are the living personages in the stories of Henry James? Verily, since the days of "The American," the best in this kind are but shadows. Stevenson, admirable in the other cardinal points of invention, construction, and a style that sets him apart from his contemporaries, has also thrown out upon the fictional canvas a few figures which are distinct —Alan Breck, David Balfour, both the Ballantraes, Kirstie the elder, and quite a portrait-gallery of rascals the most firm-bodied and picturesque in the novel-writing of our time.

Can as much be said for Kipling? Very strong he is, of a truth, in invention, construction, description, and dialogue; but where are his characters? Outside of Mowgli and the Soldiers Three, has he given us any? An obvious answer is, that, being primarily a short-story maker, he is, by the definition of his art, excluded from triumphs in this kind, since characterization requires a larger canvas. There is something in this; but it does not affect the main proposition that Kipling's forte, thus far, has not been the delineation of personality. That he has been able, within short-story limits, to stamp Mulvaney and his commensals with so much individuality speaks volumes for his natural abilities in a perilous endeavor. Nevertheless, as the writer of a dozen or more volumes, and having in view the striking effects he has produced, it is worth noting that Kipling's contribution to fictional portraiture has not been large.

It is curious, and a bit amusing, to see how current novels are heralded with trumpets of prophecy and followed by columnar eulogies, when, in this article of character truly alive, they are *nil*. An example of this class—not a small one—just now is Theodore Watts Dunton's "Aylwin." Undoubtedly, the story has romantic poetry in it of a strained, fantastic, and morbid kind. But, in respect of characterization, surely it is a failure. Revert in memory to such a humdrum realist as Anthony Trollope, in order vividly to realize why that fiction-maker, whose class is confessedly not the first, is likely to keep his place in the suffrages of a large, and not undistinguished, constituency. The folk of the "Barchester Chronicles" may be commonplace and unexciting; but they are verifiable and cling to the mind.

This clear bodying forth of men and women in the novel sets up so good a claim to attention that it will cover often a multitude of sins.

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And it really seems as if, with the rapidly increasing skill in the other technical points of novelistic art, this potent, this supreme power of characterization were in danger of its life. Is it that our story-tellers lack gift, genius, or simply that, in the care spent upon analysis or construction, description or style, or all of them, they have lost sight of the most vital element in any and all fiction? Or is it again—very plausible this—that problem and principle have led our fictionists somewhat away from the straight-away actions of flesh-and-blood folk? The pessimist will incline toward the easy solution, concluding that it is all a question of ability; that we have fallen on little days, if not evil; that when the gods go, the half-gods arrive. Genius was of yore: now is the time of carefully cultivated talents. But the student of social history, and literature in its relation thereto, will prefer to see in the wonderful development of the art of fiction during the last quarter-century a more essential cause for the temporary abeyance in the power of creating salient, unforgettable characters. I say "temporary," as expressing the belief that, just as we have witnessed a distinct reaction from the plotless tale of psychologic analysis toward stories of incident and action, so we are likely to see a return to the old emphasis on character.

The folk of fiction in the future will not be so much pegs to hang theories upon, as human beings to associate with, to laugh and cry with, and to part from right unwillingly. And they will be more wholesome company withal than they have been, as a rule, of late. Novelists must so realize their characters that the bidding them good-bye means pain and loss to the writers themselves—as Dickens walked the streets of Paris the best part of one night in utter misery because little Paul Dombey had fallen on final sleep; or as Daudet was overcome when he had similar experience with *his* Lad of the Imagination, the Piteous Jack. The inexorable corollary to such feeling on the side of the creator is an affectionate faith in those characters on the side of the world of novel-readers. Let this not be forgotten in a day of the deification of technic and of an overweening desire to handicap the personages of fiction by making them more or less colorless exponents of a principle, a class, or a theory.

By the knowing novelist of to-day the exposure of himself as caring vitally whether his manikins live or die is something to be avoided —even sneered at in others. Such an attitude is declared to be naïve, inartistic. This is an ominous sign. Charles Reade, weeping over the parting with "Peg Woffington"—"my darling," he called her—is a

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far more convincing spectacle to a host of honest-hearted readers, than is that of Thackeray at the end of the "Newcomes" ringing down the curtain and putting his puppets in the box—in other words, smashing all the illusion of the tale by announcing in the first person its fictive nature. The cold, aloof position of the late-century fiction-maker toward the people of his brain and heart may be high art, but it is precious poor humanity. And it is this perhaps more than any other one thing that is likely to keep out of our fiction the red blood of life. "But," cries the novelist, "look at my skill, my ingenuity, my technical excellences in half a dozen particulars of a difficult art." To which the public: "True, it is magnificent, but it is not war."

RICHARD BURTON.

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SHALL GREEK BE TAUGHT IN HIGH SCHOOLS?

In taking up the discussion of Greek in the high schools, I shall consider these three questions: First, is Greek more valuable than other studies in training the mind? Second, does the study of Greek acquaint us with the best that has been known and said in the world, and, therefore, with the history of the human spirit? And third, where shall Greek be taught?

The curriculum which is essentially followed in Eton and Exeter to-day was formulated by John Sturm of Strasburg, as long ago as 1578. It had taken two hundred years of hard fighting to introduce Greek literature into Europe; the defenders of the old scholastic training having claimed that it was useless for discipline, frivolous when compared with their graver studies, and without the approval of centuries. For three hundred years after the introduction of Greek, the course held its sway; and no man dared to claim the rights and privileges of an educated man who was not a monger of Greek and Latin phrases.

After Herbert Spencer published his essay on "Education," in 1858, a few persons, misguided perhaps, ventured to take courses which did not lead to an A.B. degree. Since then the number has grown to a veritable army; including 53.4 per cent of all graduates of colleges and universities. Moreover, this astonishing increase hardly represents the facts; for, in the smaller institutions controlled by the churches there is but one course, the classical, which is regarded almost equally sacred with the religion which founded the school. Consequently, the entire change must have taken place in the larger and more progressive universities. And so it has. In 1897, the University of Pennsylvania graduated but 34 per cent in Arts. In 1895, Columbia had 38 per cent in classical courses; while in Cornell, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Minnesota the number ranged between 13 and 15 per cent in the same year. At the same time our best institutions, including Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Columbia, and Stanford, grant the Arts degree to persons who do not know the Greek alphabet. This great revolution has taken place practically

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within the last twenty years; and it has been due to the changed opinion regarding the relative value of Greek, consequent upon the changed conditions of education.

If it were generally believed that the study of Greek had any such efficacy in the training of youth as is frequently claimed for it by its ardent defenders, no school could be found without it. The fact is, that in their hearts people do not believe it, and so are willing to try a chance without it. It must not be forgotten that conditions have entirely changed. When Greek was introduced into England, Dante and Chaucer had not been recognized; Shakespeare arrived just as it became established at Oxford; France and Germany had only a few wandering minstrels—barely the beginnings of a literature. At that time there was no other literature. To-day France, Germany, and England each has a literature equal to the Greek in form and far surpassing it in the criticism of life.

The praises so frequently bestowed upon the ancient classics would sometimes lead one to believe that ever since their introduction the world had stood still, in open-mouthed wonder at the brilliancy of that revival. The world has not stood still, not for a day. It has grown older and wiser by three thousand years; and Homer is to Shakespeare and George Eliot as a sweet-voiced child to a full-grown man. And in another respect conditions have changed. Education is for all to-day; then it was for lawyers and doctors, theologians and idlers. Theologians and aristocratic idlers might be allowed to dally with the classics even now—the doctors and the lawyers, most of them, have stopped long ago for want of time—only they should recognize that the schools are for the great mass of the people, and not for any privileged, small minority. It is well enough to speak of sweetness and light; but there can be but little of either on a dollar and a half a day. The schools are intended for the great majority; and that education is the best which enables them to live comfortably at home, at peace with the community, and with a small margin of time for growth and pleasure.

In the matter of discipline Greek has not such advantages over science, history, and the modern languages that we can afford to overlook the practical value of the latter subjects. What are the claims for Greek as a disciplinary subject? We are told that it develops the memory and the reasoning powers, and that it assists in the study of English. Let us analyze these points.

First, then, as to the memory, the sum and substance of the argument is somewhat as follows: "To hold in mind paradigms, rules,

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and exceptions makes heavy demands upon the memory. By this constant exercise of the faculty there results a constant growth of the faculty." Now, if retentiveness depends upon exercise, this is true; if not, it is not true. To prove that it does not, we have evidence in the fact that children have better memories than grown people. James says, in relation to this: "No amount of culture would seem capable of modifying a man's general retentiveness." As the conclusion to his interesting discussion of memory, he remarks: "All improvement of memory, then, consists in the improvement of one's habitual methods of recording facts."

At the time of making the record there must be interest, and consequent attention, or there must be a close association with other related facts and principles. No one would claim, however, that rules and paradigms are so interesting as to rivet the attention. Furthermore, instead of being associated with other laws already learned, inflections and rules seem to be of that class of facts entirely isolated, and depending for their retention upon sheer force of attention at the time the record is made. One does not long have to watch young pupils mumbling over new paradigms, while their wits are wool-gathering or while they are thumbing over vocabularies, to know that there is neither interest nor attention. The mental habit so formed is injurious, and the youth will not easily overcome it.

Not only is the habit so formed injurious, but the accumulation of knowledge is intrinsically worthless. Six hundred of the hardest hours a boy ever spends go into learning Greek grammar, which has no immediate value, either as a preparation for life's battle or in widening the youth's horizon. When one considers the great amount of time and torture involved in the study of rules, inflections, and the vocabulary—things in themselves absolutely without value—and then thinks of the laws of science, the facts of history, and the treasures of our own literature which might have been learned by the same effort, he cannot hesitate long in the choice of the material to be remembered. So that, as an exercise of the memory the study of Greek is of questionable value, while the matter remembered has absolutely no immediate value either for use or for pleasure.

The study of Greek increases the logical power of the student, we are told. There can be no doubt of it. But, the question arises, to what extent? No one would claim that committing to memory forms and rules gives any opportunity for the exercise of judgment: that comes later, in their application. That the persons who have formu-

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lated these rules have been called upon to exercise discriminating judgment is true ; but in following the present method of instruction in them there is no call for judgment. When it comes to the text the case is different. Take a short Latin sentence for an illustration. "Fanum fieri volo, neque hoc mihi eripi potest," Cicero wrote to Atticus. The first word, "Fanum," may be either in the nominative or in the accusative case. This must be decided. The pupil runs over rules for the nominative, and none of them fits the case. He then thinks of the accusative, and finds that the *accusative subject of an infinitive* is the one to use here. If there is but one form, as in the infinitive "fieri," or in the pronoun "mihi," the puzzle is very much simplified.

Really all the student ever does is to apply a general principle to a specific case. It may take some sagacity to determine the principle to be used in any individual case ; but in its last analysis it is always the same process : learn general principles, then apply them to specific cases. About how long will it take a boy to learn to do this? It takes a year to learn the principles, and in one year more the average boy can learn to apply any principle to any specific case. To be sure, he will not know all the rules of a Greek grammar, and so will not have tried his skill on every kind of case. But it is not necessary that a pupil should have worked under every rule to have derived all the benefit from this kind of training. As well say that a cabinet-maker must needs have made every size of table before he is able to undertake an order for one twenty-four by forty inches. Thoreau, who for another reason should have continued at the old stand as pencil-maker, told a great truth when, in answer to the question why he did not keep on making pencils, he said there was no use of it, for he had learned to make perfect pencils already. But we would keep pupils whittling away at the same old models, even when the product is worthless and the process has long since ceased to have any value.

Again, the net result cannot be great, because the problem itself is too narrow and confined. The conditions vary but little. Specific forms will be followed by certain other necessary forms. Such combinations are as simple as the door and the door-latch : Pussy pulls the string, and the door opens. A certain preposition, a certain case follows ; a certain conjunction means a certain mood. This empirical reasoning is not the method that has won for us all the glorious advances in science, sociology, and political economy. The broader field and the numerous shifting conditions swamp the man who has been shut up to necessary consequences as surely as a door-knob confuses

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poor kitty. It is perhaps for this reason that the close student of language is so often lost in the hurly-burly of life. It is great masses of data, apparently with no controlling principle, and long columns of statistics that present the problem in history and in science; and to shake out the invariable principle which sets the whole confusion in order requires a sagacity not the product of the narrow laboratory of a book.

Closely related to the narrowing consequent upon the study of the molecules of a language is the dwarfing influence of its imperious authority. Though laws govern in nature as well as in language, the method of the one is directly opposite to the method in the other. In language, the instructor is upon the throne with a grammar for his sceptre. From this authority there is no appeal. In science, the questioning spirit is encouraged, and the pupil is shown the materials with which he may solve his own problems. Respect for authority is a beautiful attitude; but the dominance of authority is quite another thing. If Luther, defying Rome's thunderbolts, and Columbus, looking into "the bright eyes of danger," had not dared to question authority, their names would not be as they are, and civilization would be behind four hundred years. The spirit that dares to be in the right with two or three, aye, to stand alone, fronting a world of precedents and authority, comes not from the cloistered study of words, nor from the kneeling acceptance of man's teachings, but from looking far and wide over God's great universe, beholding its titanic phenomena and the mighty struggles of men. History and science and literature emancipate the student; it is the word that killeth.

Moreover, the contention that language study does not to any great extent develop the logical faculty of the student is confirmed by the fact that languages are learned most readily and most accurately by children. No one will dispute the fact that a child learns German and French more easily than an adult; and when Latin was the language of learned circles children learned it as they now learn German and French. The language habit is not fixed in the child, and it is not necessary to make him over as it is the adult. Still, if language depended to any large degree upon judgment, the better equipment of age would overcome the inertia of habit. The truth is, in my opinion, that the study of a language makes almost no demands upon the reasoning powers, and so is of comparatively little use in training them.

In the discussion of the discipline to be derived from the study of Greek I have so far confined myself to the grammar of the language.

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My conclusion is, that it has little or no value in training the memory, that it is surpassed by history and the sciences in developing sagacity and reasoning power, and that it exercises a dwarfing influence upon the student by its continuous appeal to authority.

Now what is the fact concerning the statement that the study of the classics is the best training in English? I have no desire to say what Greek and Latin can do, for I do not know; but I have a right to say what I believe they have done. Aside from keeping English out of the schools on the ground that English can best be learned by studying some other language, the advocates of Greek and Latin are responsible for a large part of the poor English of to-day. I shall not take time to quote examples of the abominable stuff written by young men for entrance to college. Translation English has become a joke and a by-word. Its degrading influence has forced men eminent in school work to ask whether there be any compensation for it in the study of the classics.

And, really, as far as its relation to English is concerned, the study of the classics can never be more than a study of words—the very last thing in composition. It never has to do with the arrangement of sentences in a paragraph, or with the sequence of paragraphs to form a whole composition. How can it? The sentences and the paragraphs are already set in their proper places in the theme; and, with the present methods, the pupil is not called upon to look beyond the limits of a single sentence. There can be but little inspiration in such study—the mere study of words. The soul is never fired; and it is no wonder that powerful passages from Greek and Roman orators descend to a worthless spending of breath when heard in ordinary translations. For who can speak forcibly or clearly when his soul is not stirred? Yet we expect translations to be obvious and pointed when the conditions of earnest and glowing speech are denied. A dawdling search for elegance is the most that can be hoped for from the study of the words of a sentence.

English cannot be learned by studying any other language than English. I do not say that English cannot be learned while studying another language; but it is by looking to the English, not to the Latin or the Greek, that a pupil learns English while studying Greek and Latin. I have never been able to learn that the Greeks read the Zend-Avesta in order that they might learn to speak their own language; and I attribute a part of their perfection in language to the fact that they studied it only, and were not led to introduce into it idioms from

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any other language, however beautiful they may have been in their native setting. The Latin literature cannot boast of any composition to match the work of Homer, Dante, or Shakespeare ; and may not the reason be that they were poor mimics in literature? And is the perfection of English inferior to the perfection of Greek? Shall we not be as proud of our inheritance from Tennyson, Chaucer, and Shakespeare as the youth who walks under the shadow of the Acropolis is that he babbles in the language of Homer and Plato? The great masters of English shall be our instructors ; for the only sure way to learn to write English is to study English.

It will be objected that this method of treating the classics is manifestly unfair, because it gives no consideration to the literature. No one can be more earnest in his advocacy of literature than I. Just as I believe that what a man is, is beyond what a man does ; so I believe that the true record left in fiery words from the burning heart of poet or prophet is above the monuments of civilization written on colossal buildings or in the network of steel rails and copper wires. Literature is above and beyond all ; it has extracted the best from all ; it embraces all. And down through all the broad stream of noble writing the fountains of Greece have poured their sweet waters. Our literature is full of allusions to the ancient classics ; and unless the reader be somewhat familiar with the beginnings of literature, he cannot hope to understand the literature of to-day. But the student does not get these elements of literature by reading classic texts. If he would know about ill-fated Troy, he reads it up in a Dictionary of Antiquities ; if of sulky Achilles, in Smith's "Classical Dictionary." More of the rich life of the Greeks has been learned from the collateral readings and from history than has been gathered from the reading of classic texts. Suppose a person should read Scott's "Marmion," three of Burke's shorter orations, some of Landor's "Conversations," a hundred pages of Dickens's "Child's History of England," and a hundred pages of Boswell's "Johnson," would he then know the life and literature of the English people? And yet this is what the student of Greek does in amount and kind ; and he is called a man acquainted with Greek life and literature.

But notice the wide difference in the conditions. Beyond the meagreness of the amount of the literature—an amount so small that one would never dream that with a thorough knowledge of as much in English he were acquainted with English literature—beyond the paltry stint of his reading, there is a condition even worse : he does

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not understand what he reads in the Greek. One does not understand "Hamlet" by reading it through twice. Think, then, of saying that a student understands "Prometheus Bound" after two readings in a language as difficult as Greek! The intricacies of the language engage all the pupil's attention; while to the ideas behind the words he can give only that little energy that remains after the long struggle with grammar and lexicon. Indeed, the culture of a literature, whether native or foreign, cannot be derived while studying the grammar of the language. It is an axiom of education that if you wish to ruin a classic in English just let the children parse it. The soul of literature is too fine an essence to be discovered in any such way.

The inevitable conclusion is, that in order to derive the culture of the literature the best translations must be used. And now I make bold to say that all, even the students of the classics, really use translations. When you read here the word "puella" do you think of bright eyes, a beaming face, and so on, or do you say to yourself "girl?" First the symbol in Greek, then the symbol in English, and last the image—that is the order. The translation into English is a necessary antecedent to the derivation of the thought; and the only question now is, What sort of translation shall it be? Shall it be done as William Morris has done the Odyssey, and Prof. Jowett, Plato? Or shall we leave these fair mountains to batten on the moor of sophomoric translation? Certainly it is a wickedly false economy for a layman to waste time and money for that which one can get better done by a skilled workman at a much smaller expense.

Still, there are some who will say that the best part of a language cannot be translated. What is it that is untranslatable? It is not the facts of Herodotus, not the wisdom of Plato, nor is it the narrative of Homer. Mythology, history, philosophical doctrines, the story of the epic, all the character-drawings and the wisdom of the great dramas, even many of the figures of speech, can be translated. Think of chaining the indomitable spirit of Prometheus by Greek characters! Great thoughts are not bound by any language; and one has but to mention the Bible to prove that a great body of literature can be adequately translated. Such a perfect work is this, that, besides moulding the lives of the English-speaking people, it has been the most powerful influence upon their language for three hundred years. I admit that sometimes an idiom of one language cannot be translated into another. The delicate form into which some verse is moulded cannot be changed without breaking. But when a man says that therefore the best part

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of literature cannot be derived from translations, he condemns himself as a worshipper of words to the exclusion of ideas. It is much as if on beholding a picture he began to wonder whether it was by a mixture of pigments that the artist had produced the delicate tinting, and whether the artist had worked from a sketch or had thrown the picture upon the canvas in a moment of creative frenzy. As if the idea were of less value than rust and oil!

Moreover, this claim of loss in the case of most classical students has in it a laughable element. They could not tell a verse by Marco Morrow from one of the elegantly phrased lines of Tennyson, unless the author had been so considerate of them as to subscribe his name. It is nonsense to talk of poetic words and tropes in language which stamp the work of genius, until the reader is thoroughly acquainted with the common words and the normal order of the language. In the short time given to Greek such a familiarity is not gained; and the ordinary student, who never gets beyond the grammar and lexicon stage, is about as fit to speak of the beauties of the language of Homer and Æschylus as a ten-year-old is to analyze one of Spenser's perfect lines.

I am now ready to answer the question first proposed. And my answer is: That Greek is not necessary in the curriculum of to-day, if discipline of the mind be the main consideration; that for the life of to-day there are many more pressing demands which must be listened to, and can be obeyed without loss of mental power, while at the same time the newer studies give a better equipment for the struggle for existence; that the study of Greek, as at present carried on, is a study of the grammar of the language, and does not acquaint us with the best that has been known and said in the world, and thus with the history of the human spirit; and that this knowledge and culture, by far the most valuable part of literature, can better be gained from translations.

The last question I shall consider here is one of administration. In the United States there are barely above 3 per cent of the pupils in the public high schools studying Greek. The average size of classes in Greek for the whole country is six; while in many cases they dwindle down to three, two, and even one. Greek has certainly been the "protected industry" in our schools; and no subject could have endured these conditions unless it had been sheltered by the tender care of college professors and school superintendents. To teach such microscopic classes is an expensive luxury, sometimes rising to $100 a pupil

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per annum—a luxury that some communities refuse to pay for. Now, as the State is one great school system, and as there are those who wish to study Greek, is it not economy to gather them together at the university or college where large classes can be formed—for no one should begin Greek who does not expect to take a college course—there under competent instructors to begin the study of Greek under the most favorable conditions? It would save money, and the pupils would be better served.

Besides economy, another matter is worthy of consideration. It is a good pedagogical principle that, other conditions being equal, the easier subjects should precede the more difficult. As the classical student takes Latin, Greek, German, and French before he finishes his college course, it would seem the part of wisdom for him to take the easier, German or French, with his Latin, before the more difficult Greek. There is no reason for maintaining the old order; and the only reason why we maintain it is that we have had it. At the time of the Renaissance, Greek and Latin were the only literatures in the universities; and the preparation for reading them was the work of the secondary schools. Now that conditions have changed, and there is a great literature in German and in French, and as these literatures are a part of the classical course, the old order should be modified. Again, as pupils are expected to speak the modern languages, the necessity of beginning them early is more emphatic than if they were only to read them. The language habit is fixed very early in life; and if the youth is to gain any fluency in a language, he should begin it before the university period. In the case of Greek, however, this consideration is of little importance, as no one to-day hopes to become a Greek orator. So that, as long as no injury is done to the Greek, the demand that German and French be taught when most profitable would place Greek later in the course.

This, then, is the conclusion: that Greek is not needed for its disciplinary value; that, as the study is at present carried on it is giving but little culture; that if theologians and philologians and dilettante idlers will have it, the university is the rational place to pursue it.

W. F. Webster.

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RESPONSIBILITY IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMONG the most curious and interesting phenomena in the study of modern politics are the various attitudes of opinion and action regarding forms of government, on the part of people who take part in them. The most notable of these situations is our own. It is apparently like Bedlam for its inconsistencies—at least on the surface. We go into hysterics at the proposal to restore the Hawaiian monarchy; but we sit in submissive silence when our President exercises more than monarchical powers in the government of the same territory.

We are great sticklers for names. Call a government a monarchy, and we regard it as dangerous; but if you call it a republic, the amount of despotic power used in its government does not make any difference, except perhaps to improve it. We throw up our hats for the Boers and their independence, because their government is called a republic, though it is in fact an oligarchy of the worst type; and England, though extending the liberties of the human race, must be maligned for no other reason than that she wears the tag of monarchy. The military despotisms of Europe are terrible; but a military government for Cuba and the Philippines is not to be murmured against. The United States Government can use the most arbitrary powers in the control of its colonial acquisitions and in the appointment of officers over them; it can organize the newspapers to suppress the real condition of affairs; it can adopt a censorship that will not allow us to know what the government is doing; it can let the economic forces of society usurp power in the interests of a class; it can violate every axiom of free government. But it is intolerable that any monarchy should do the same.

Again, we raise a great hue and cry against a large army in a democracy, because we think every people should govern itself, while an army would tempt the governing powers to do injustice. We dread and hate military government *per se;* but we do not object to its application in Cuba, the Philippines, and Hawaii. It makes a great difference who is the governor and who the governed. We do not want any despots over ourselves; but it is a horse of another color if we are

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the despots and somebody else is the subject. We go to war to dislodge the military despotism of Spain, and we apply the same method ourselves, without any remonstrance from the very people who grew red in the face denouncing Spanish methods of government. We are terribly afraid that the army might be used to put down strikes amongst us ; but where there is no politics at issue, we praise the summary way in which the recent strike was put down by military power in Havana. It was lauded by papers that would gee and haw about the maxims of prudence in this country, with a wonderful air of wisdom and impartiality. Everywhere the press praises the present government of Cuba, though it does not ask the consent of the governed, which is the axiom of all our home reasoning. The government of the territories in our own midst involves no appeal to the popular vote, and we raise no remonstrance : in fact we rather like it. But if you only call a province a State, it is a very different thing to use such power as governs areas without such a name. We hate the Czar of Russia ; but we love the political "boss" and the walking delegate. The blessed name of democracy is too sacred to be taken in vain ; but the President has more power than the monarch of England, and is less responsible.

Our municipal governments are irresponsible despotisms. We cannot obtain clean streets ; we cannot get proper transit facilities for years, unless we pay the politician for the right ; we allow blackmail to go unpunished, or piracy in our harbor, and never think of the Italian brigands in the middle ages. We get only half the value for the taxes we pay. In fact, our city governments are too often nothing but organized blackmailing institutions, conducted under the refinements of law. But then, as an offset to all this, we have the blessed privilege of voting for the nominations of the "boss" ! We are satisfied that we have self-government, if only we can put a piece of paper in a box ; thus conferring irresponsible power and selling our birthright for a mess of pottage. Just call a thing a democracy, but don't scrutinize the powers that are exercised by the rulers. Apply all our hysterical enmity to other governments, without regard to the practical functions of their rulers ! Scream against imaginary tyranny, but do not suppose that it can exist where ballots can be cast !

I do not care at present to inquire into the reasons for this real or apparent contradiction in the attitude of people toward political problems. I am only calling attention to an interesting intellectual and moral situation which, in the way it is put, appears incomprehensible. On the one hand, people seem opposed to strong power, if only it is de-

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nominated by one name ; but, on the other hand, they like it, if they do not think of its name. The fact is that they are influenced by mere tradition. When they think of the past they are fanatics for democracy ; but when they look at the present they think only of results. They would feel shocked if they were told publicly that they did not care a picayune for forms of government, but only for the results of any power in use. They would resent this accusation with all their force. But to see this we have only to contemplate the government of Cuba and the universal approval of both its methods and results. No less is it the case with Hawaii, the territories, and the District of Columbia.

We do not mind anomalies in politics when applied to other people, nor even to ourselves, if only *we* enjoy the sovereign ballot. Let despotism give us prosperity, and forms of government are not thought of. There is no danger in the use of military power for putting down strikes in Havana ; but our own institutions would be in peril if the same power were used here. The Cubans and the Filipinos are not fit to govern themselves ; and after driving out the Spanish military powers we think that method the best for ruling the new possessions, in spite of the priority of the axiom about "the people." This military government proves a success, too ! But then we should go frantic and insane, if any one should propose the same method for ourselves. *We* are capable of self-government, but those whom we wish to govern are not ; while those over whom we exercise no jurisdiction, and cannot exercise it, ought to be a democracy, if monarchy is the name of their institutions, no matter how free the people are in fact. In other words, where *we* are the governors monarchical methods are all right, if we do not call them by the right name. But, then, no such system for us !

This all seems a great medley of contradictions ; but it is in reality not nearly so bad as it appears. There is far more consistency than the superficial view represents, though this consistency is not at all intelligent. The public feeling simply happens to be right in the main ; but it does not know why it is so, and consequently is not prepared to meet the situations of politics as they arise in any manner commensurate with the amount of intelligence required. The opposition to the Hawaiian monarchy was largely based upon dislike of monarchy in the abstract. People did not stop to inquire what powers were possessed and exercised by the "monarch," or how they were exercised ; it was sufficient to know that the ruler was called by that name. If he

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had been called a President, no matter what the powers possessed by him, no interest could have been excited in the case.

What people have in mind when the term "monarchy" is used is a more or less irresponsible ruler; and to that they have an irreconcilable and just antagonism. They think "popular" government supplies responsibility; and so it does, to a very limited extent. It does not, however, supply it either in the manner or the amount necessary for efficient and honest government. On the other hand, the failure to get excited by the military government in Cuba is due to the fact that it is responsible to the President. People do not generally recognize this either as a fact or as the reason for their acquiescence. In spite of the name attaching to the government as military, it possesses no such irresponsible powers as are frequently associated with military methods; and it is judged by results or the known necessities of the situation. But no question has been raised against the method. In spite of its name it is responsible, and liable at any moment to be abruptly called to account. It is the same with the administration of Hawaii and the territories. We may not yet have just the best methods for this condition of things; but I am not considering that fact now. I am interested only in remarking that the inconsistencies indicated at the outset are only in the abstract, or that they are less noticeable when we study the concrete situation, in which we discover that wherever the principle of immediate responsibility operates and the results are not bad, the abstract question of the amount of power exercised is not raised.

The alarm of the abstract theorist in the case of Cuba is partly disqualified by the general acquiescence in the present unfitness of the people of that country for an immediate application of our institutions. But this fact would avail nothing *if the military methods employed in Cuba were not subordinate to the civil authority of the United States.* This is the one fact that proves the danger of illusion in characterizing it as a "military government," as that term is often understood historically, where it is associated with the idea of imperialism.

The one thing that characterizes the value of the Cuban government is its union of power and responsibility, which is what we cannot get in our domestic system. If the authority of the Cuban government were not in any way subject to the revision or check of the United States, in the person of a central agency able to act promptly, that is to say, if it were sovereign as well as executive, we should in all probability find a rapid deterioration in the quality of it. But it can be

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called to account at any instant ; and it can be more easily made the interest of the central civil power to interfere, in behalf of justice, than if it were elected by the people or left to either the courts or the legislatures for action. I said we cannot get this responsibility in domestic institutions. I meant that we could not get it without a division of functions. In any government there must be some irresponsibility somewhere. The one question is whether we can regulate the amount of this in any special case. *Can we divide power and irresponsibility as we have divided power?* The fact is that we have not paid as much attention to that possibility as we have to the division of administrative and executive functions.

I have in mind here a more definite application to municipal institutions of the principle which I have discussed elsewhere. I can also, perhaps, in the present article, throw further light upon it in general. Still, I must refer to that discussion as indicating, in a way that I cannot do here, the place which the idea of power and responsibility has had in the development of theoretical politics. I there indicated that the centralization of power has not been what it should be for the needed efficiency ; that for practical politics we might greatly modify the scheme as presented, and try some experiment in municipal methods where the correction of irresponsible government is more immediately imperative. But then, with the existing irresponsibility of municipal executives any attempt to organize the government under their authority, and to trace municipal action straight to its head, is always met by the defective responsibility which universal suffrage supplies. Hence, nothing is done but to have a lot of officers elected without any coördination of their functions, under any single head, with the hope that divided powers—check and balance—will prevent any evil. But this only results in the organization of the "machine" and the power of the "boss," as means to evade the chaos of agencies which may not act in unison in any other way.

The whole condition of municipal government is a confession that the electorate alone is not an adequate means of responsibility. Whatever value attaches to universal suffrage—and I admit its value for certain purposes and would not wholly abolish it—it is not a fit instrument for applying responsibility in any efficient way to meet the conditions of good government. If we could rely upon public opinion to do the work the problem would be easily solved. But there are two fatal difficulties to this reliance, though it is the only resource at command, if we do not attempt some other method of modifying the rela-

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tion at present existing between power and irresponsibility. But with universal suffrage in the cities the "public opinion" that counts is not intelligent. It is also as unstable as the wind.

This is true on the wide scale of State and Federal matters. On one day we are prepared to go to war about the affairs of some South American government concerning which we know absolutely nothing. On the next day we are so absorbed with the Dreyfus case that we let the Venezuela matter pass against us without protest or mention. If a yacht-race or a dog-fight were arranged to take place on election day we could not get the people to the polls, even if free liquor were the issue. Public opinion, in so far as it is useful for politics, is simply what the accidents of industrial and social life elicit. It is not prepared for any persistent action involving prudence and foresight, but plays like the caprices of sprites about the necessities of government. Politics must be subordinated to it and its casualties, instead of counting on any intelligent steadiness in the one force upon which democracy has to depend for success. It is a force which is never ready when it is wanted; and when it is ready it is most likely to be insane. If, then, we intend to rely upon this resource for political reform, we have either to undertake the impossible task of educating this opinion and keeping it steady, or to limit the franchise as a condition to securing the supremacy of that opinion which is steady and intelligent. Neither course, I think, offers much hope for success. We may then be obliged to look in the direction of another alternative. I think that this direction may also be the proper corrective of the evils of universal suffrage without abolishing it altogether, or even modifying it in any respect, at present at least.

This method which I wish to propose is but an extension of an agency and of powers already recognized in existing law. I am not going to propose any absolutely new theory, but shall only call attention to the nature of the problem and the possible enlargement of the institutions in use to meet the case. I keep in view not only the general principle of responsibility for power, but also that application of it which proposes an agency beside the electorate for the purpose. It involves at least some centralized means of making municipal officers responsible to some one besides the "boss."

That it is necessary ought to be apparent from a bird's-eye view of our general municipal methods. Here we have a large number of administrative heads that are not responsible to any central power. Functions and powers are divided among various officers, elective and

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appointed, who are either not removable by the executive at all, or only under limitations that simply hamstring efficient action in government. Nobody can be charged with the miscarriage of government, as no one has the duty of urging or preventing action. Too many officers are accountable only to the electorate. In Greater New York, for example, the mayor cannot remove his own appointees after six months, unless his action can stand the test of judicial procedure. His removals in such cases are in danger of being nullified by reinstatement. I agree and admit that such provisions are necessary in a democracy with universal suffrage, if we have no other means of responsibility than the electorate; and hence I should not quarrel with the present policy, if I did not seek the means to improve upon it. In the absence of proper responsibility in the appointing power, we must have a tenure for appointees that is secured against the personal or party interests of the administrative authorities. But this only results in an increase of the irresponsibility in government. The central power cannot be held accountable for delinquencies of administrative action that are traceable to men who cannot feel his authority. Consequently, in order to attain any unison or harmonious action at all in municipal government, that coördination of central power and dependence of subordinate instruments under it, the "machine" and "boss," had to be developed. This gets unity and responsibility wholly outside the body politic; evading even what is supposed to attach to the electorate.

And all this in what calls itself a democracy! Inside the official organism the check and balance system is so arranged that nobody can do anything, and that nobody can prevent anything being done. Witness the Ramapo business, and a hundred jobs like it. No one can be dismissed from service without the liability of an appeal to the courts for reinstatement; and almost any crime against the public interests can be committed without proof or detection. We dare not employ administrative methods of purifying the civil service; and the judicial method involves evidential considerations that no successful business man could tolerate for a moment. We seem, then, to be placed between the devil and the deep sea.

That the proposal which I intend to make here for an effective means to establish responsibility in municipal government is not an innovation in its method of fixing a court for the purpose, is clearly indicated by three facts. There is first the fact that in most cases the civil courts have the final disposal of removals in their hands; execu-

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tives and administrative heads being powerless in the matter. Second, the governor has the power to remove from office the mayors and certain public officials not responsible to the city executive. Last, the present Civil Service Commission has a qualified power of removal applicable to certain officers. What I shall propose here to simplify the whole matter, is the following, after the statement of which I can show the reasons for its desirability and the nature of the precedents that make it feasible and practicable.

The proposition is, to establish a Civil Service Court which shall be a central source of responsibility for all municipal officers, and with the following qualifications: (1) Long tenure; (2) appointed instead of elected; (3) power of removal without power of appointment; (4) power to use administrative methods, as far as possible, instead of judicial procedure in removals.

I shall not, at present at least, indicate just how this court should be appointed, as my first problem is to defend the general principle involving the existence of a court with these powers—assuming that it is attainable if it be desired at all. If the principle be shown to be correct and feasible, I can leave to the special students of politics and law the duty to secure the means for putting it into practice. But the method of justifying the proposition that I shall adopt here will be that of showing how the principle for which I am contending has already been recognized in actual practice, so that no charge of pure theory can be brought against it. This method simply requires the student and critic to demand the abandonment of existing law, if he wishes to destroy the ultimate theory upon which my idea of responsible power should rest.

I understand that Germany already has courts in the main like what I propose here. But pass that by and remark the fact that the present power of the governor to remove certain municipal officers admits the need of some other means of responsibility than the electorate. But note also that this power is practically nullified, partly by the circumstance that the dismissed officer can appeal to the judicial courts to show cause for removal—and the determination of this cause is based upon technical methods of accepting evidence that cannot be adopted in any private business or in the best form of administrative action—and partly by its connection with politics. If it be said that we cannot keep politics out of any institution, I have only to say either that you can do this, or that you can, at least, minimize this influence for evil. I can prove this, or force the man who denies it to abandon

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civil service reform and the whole system of organizing our higher courts. Long tenure has been proposed for this court simply because it is universally admitted that civil service reform accomplishes either the elimination or the minimization of politics by insisting upon long tenure. It is this long tenure in our higher courts that effects the same result. Get a court of long tenure, with an organization involving as much care as is applied to appointments in the Supreme Court, and we shall certainly minimize the evil influence of politics, if there is any virtue at all in civil service reform or in our Supreme Court. Give up these two principles and I shall have nothing to say.

The apparent innovation in such a court as I have suggested is found in its power of removal without that of appointment. I say apparent, because the precedent is found in two facts of actual practice, one implied and the other actually recognized in the law. First, the limitation of an administrative's power of removal, in the right of appeal by the incumbent to the courts, to show cause why he should be dismissed, practically devolves upon the courts themselves the final question of removal without any power of appointment. The main principle is here admitted and cannot be gainsaid. But its defect is, that judicial procedure is applied to an administrative problem. I do not dispute the desirability of this under existing circumstances, which do not allow of proper responsibility for executive powers ; and hence, in the absence of such means as may be possible of obtaining this responsibility and the minimizing of politics, I should stand by the present system. But if we can by proper organization and long tenure obtain, as we do in our higher courts and the civil service, a sufficiently intelligent and honest body of men who can safely apply the administrative power of removal—which has usually been the function of executives until politics made reform necessary—we may abolish the appeal to the judicial courts in the matter of the civil service, and secure the promptness and efficiency that are so imperative in the correction of bad administration. Judicial procedure does not favor this, though it admits that the power of removal in the administrative officer must be qualified and subordinated precisely as the principle for which I am here contending asserts.

The second fact sustaining this contention is the power which the Civil Service Law, passed last winter by the New York Legislature, confers upon the State Civil Service Commission. This Commission has conferred upon it the power of removal without that of appointment, though it is qualified in two directions. It is limited to officials

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in subordinate civil service commissions and is qualified by the consent of the governor. But, apart from these limitations, which may be well enough considering the short tenure of both the governor and the Commission, this law actually embodies four of the main characteristics in the proposition that I have advanced : (1) Separation of the power of removal and appointment. The Commission can (with the governor's consent) remove the officers in subordinate commissions, but cannot make the appointments. (2) Power of removal by a body other than either the executive alone or the electorate alone. (3) Appointment instead of election. (4) The centralization of responsibility, though in this case it is limited to only a part of the civil service.

After this nothing can be said against my proposal on general principles. These are admitted in the sphere of practical politics by its own representatives, if any merit whatever attaches to the existing law. I can therefore consider the principle established, and proceed to indicate how it may be extended and improved. The fault of the law quoted is, that it disqualifies the proper action by the Commission through friction with the will of the executive, especially when that officer is of the opposite party. We have the bad qualities of the check and balance system here in all their repugnance. Such a Commission can act officially only when it has an executive in harmony with the party of the majority ; while all responsibility for purification of the service, when a conflict between it and the executive arises, is so divided that nothing can be done, and that no one can be made accountable for inaction in any situation. This is absurd, except upon the supposition that both the Commission and the executive are political offices, as in fact they are.

But if as much be done to organize a Civil Service Court independently of politics as in the case of Supreme Courts, there will be no necessity for checking the exercise of the power of removal by the consent of the executive. There is, of course, an additional reason for this check in the present Commission. It has practically the power of appointment in its hands, as it decides both the list of nominations and their position in this list. But in the court here proposed for fixing responsibility no power of appointment whatever is supposed to be granted ; and hence, if given the dignity of a court with long tenure and exemption from the necessity of playing politics in its action, it ought to be safe both to leave it free from executive consent in its removals and to empower it with administrative methods in its removals. To make it responsible I should favor making its members removable

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by the Supreme Court. I leave to other students of the question to say whether this power of removal by the Supreme Court as applied to this Civil Service Court should be by judicial or administrative procedure. What I wish to do is to maintain that the Civil Service Court should not be absolutely irresponsible.

There is another qualification of its methods. I have said that it shall have the power of removal applied by administrative methods. This can be arranged so that administrative heads and executives in municipal governments may be granted the provisional power to remove subordinates ; the final removal, in such cases, being subject to the consent of the court. This will enable the Civil Service Court to apply judicial procedure in determining the right of executives and administrative heads to remove, while in its own action it can proceed upon more efficient methods. The exercise of the administrative power of removal might be applied then mainly to the executives and other administrative officers ; holding their abuses of appointment and proposed removals completely in check. New elections could be ordered, and the court relieved of the power to choose successors.

If some such agency for calling public servants to account without being able to make appointments were established with sufficient care, there ought to be no such conduct as we find in the police and other corruption of New York City. With this system in operation, no such thing as holding the Rapid Transit contract in a pigeon-hole for a year would be possible without giving public and satisfactory reasons therefor. Nor could we be safely threatened with such a scandal as the Ramapo job. One of the faults of the present system is the lack of centralization or unity in executive powers, which would enable us to fix responsibility at once for such things. Of course, if the executive cannot be made subject to some authority other than the electorate the division of powers in the present system seems a necessity. But, whether so or not, it is certain that power and irresponsibility are so divided that, as already said, no single man can do anything, and no single man can prevent anything being done. The consequence is, that nobody and everybody is responsible ; while the dangers of conflicts in office will offer the opportunity for the "boss" and the "machine" to organize everything outside the pale of the law, when unity of action is imperative or desired.

A Civil Service Court of the kind here advocated would summarily put an end to many projects of the irresponsible parties outside of office. The system would permit of the larger unification of power in

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the hands of municipal executives, while giving directness, unity, and efficiency to responsibility ; and issues could be determined independently of the caprices of public opinion. Turn a mayor out of office for some dereliction of duty, and the issue of his successor, in the order for a new election, would be in the hands of the intelligent public, as it is in the hands of the English crown and House of Commons.

The attempt last winter to make the Chief of Police in New York subject to removal by the governor is an admission that the problem is to be recognized and faced. Why not, then, look at it on the larger scale and deal with it as the fundamental want of our municipal institutions, as it is presumably impossible either to adjust the suffrage to the situation or to keep public opinion in a condition to meet it? There are many ways in which such a court with ample powers could be constituted ; but I do not here undertake that problem. It is safe to say that the method of instituting our Supreme Court offers a practical means for organizing a system with large powers, especially as the court proposed would be freed from all duty or power to determine positive executive policy against the popular will. But I willingly leave to those who know more about actual politics to accomplish what I propose in principle—if it be accepted at all—as it has not been my function to devise schemes of politics in their details.

The conclusions to which I have been brought regarding the main principle have been determined by two ideas. The first is the study of the doctrine of evolution, in which we discover, in the whole field of its application, that coördination of functions which promotes efficiency of action, and that inhibition of central supremacy which brings it into harmony with the object of the organism. The second important suggestion was the study in both individual and social institutions of the adjustment of power or liberty and responsibility, which is necessary for any progress whatsoever. It therefore became with me a principle to be applied wherever moral questions are raised. The method of its application requires that I should defer to those who are better acquainted with the complicated details of political institutions than I am. But when the main principle is already recognized, as it is in the manner noticed above, it ought to be only a problem of organizing a Civil Service Court upon a sufficiently large scale to make its dignity and importance respectable and its operations simple, and in a way to remove all suspicion of politics from it.

The one principle of efficient and successful government is unity of action ; and this can be best obtained by centralization of power,

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provided you can confer this with adequate responsibility. This can be easily done in territories and colonial possessions ; but it cannot be effected in domestic institutions without either regulating the suffrage, so that public opinion can be intelligent and constant, or establishing a special method of calling power promptly to account. The latter method seems the only one within the reach of practical politics now open to us ; and the consideration of it may lead the way to the conferral of larger powers on municipal executives, and to the modifying of the harassing influences of judicial procedure in removals, which will have to remain unless some better system of responsibility can be obtained than the present one.

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

It is now reasonably certain that the last year of the century will see the political birth of another new Anglo-Saxon nation in the Pacific. After an agitation which has gone on for the last eight years with various fortunes, but on the whole with steadily increasing intensity, the party of union has finally triumphed in four out of the six colonies occupying the island continent of Australia, and its adjacent island of Tasmania. As yet, it is true, the two large colonies of Queensland and West Australia, which occupy the extreme ends of the great island, have not given in their adhesion to the new arrangement; but this will not delay the completion of the federation, to which will be given legal recognition as soon as the Imperial Parliament meets in its next session at Westminster. It is rather more than probable that before the Act can be passed the people of Queensland will have decided, by referendum vote, that they also will join as partners in the new Australian Commonwealth; and it is possible—though at present less probable—that West Australia will do likewise. In any case it can hardly be more than a question of a few years until both these colonies take advantage of the provision made in the Commonwealth Act for their subsequent inclusion. Should Queensland take part in the original federation, the Commonwealth will start with nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants of Australia; should both West Australia and Queensland for the present stand aloof, nearly six-sevenths of the people of the Pacific continent will be included under the new government.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the close of the century will witness no more important political event than that of the establishment of the new federation. The event will, it is true, present none of the more startling, and therefore attractive, features we are accustomed to look for in events generally esteemed of leading importance in the political history of the world; and to be fully appreciated, it may, for that reason, require a closer scrutiny than many people are in the habit of giving to such matters. We are apt to connect the birth of nations with revolutionary wars and declarations of

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independence ; and there is an old idea which connects with the roar of cannon and the clash of arms all political events of far-reaching importance. The Federal union of the Anglo-Saxon colonies of Australia has none of these attractions to offer. It has not even the distinction of being the formal inauguration of a new sovereign State—of adding one more to the recognized governments of the world. There will be no severance of the ties that bind Australia to Great Britain; no formal change in the relations of the governments ; and yet, in reality, the establishment of the Pacific Commonwealth will mean vastly more both to England and to the rest of the world than any political event that has occurred for several decades.

A generation has now passed since the Dominion of Canada was formed ; and the idea of those united colonies of the north has grown so familiar, not only to the people of this country, but to those of Great Britain as well, that it is not easy for them to grasp the fact that in more ways than one the constitution of the great federation of the southern hemisphere is at once a more important and a more far-reaching event. The fact that the federation of Australia is the second and not the first event of the kind in the political history of the British empire might be supposed to make it of less importance ; but a little consideration will show that this is a mistake. It is so because of the circumstances of the new Commonwealth when compared with the older Dominion ; it is so also because of the new departure which it must inevitably introduce within a short time into the administration of the empire itself.

It is unfortunate, though not, perhaps, remarkable, that persons of ordinary intelligence and education in America know so very little of Australia, its history, and its people. Comparatively few persons have more than a tolerably accurate idea of its geographical position, a somewhat vague impression of its extent, and a general notion that it is a hot country in which the settlers either grow sheep for the sake of their wool, or dig for gold. When they are told that the island continent is larger than the whole of the United States, exclusive of the territory of Alaska ; that it seems to be as rich as, if not richer, in mineral treasures of every kind, from coal and iron to gold, silver, and precious stones, than any country of similar extent on the globe ; and that its 4,000,000 of inhabitants are already probably the richest, man for man, of any people in the world, they are disposed to look on the statements as grossly exaggerated. Yet, in fact, this is only a very conservative statement of the case.

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This enormous wealth, present and prospective, supplies the first reason why its consolidation into a single community, acting through one government, and animated by a common public sentiment directed to carrying out a common policy, renders the event of special significance to Great Britain, and through her to the world at large. The federation, some thirty years ago, of the colonies forming the Dominion of Canada was an event of similar character, but for several reasons fraught with less significance. In the case of Canada, also, there was involved a vast territory containing huge possibilities of development and wealth for its people, and indirectly for others. The people of Canada were hardy, energetic, and, to a large extent, British in character and in sentiment. They were also frugal, and as compared with most communities, wealthy. The important difference between their case and that of the Australians is, that in each of the conditions which went to render them influential in their relations with the mother country and with the world at large they were, at the time of their federation, and still are, after thirty years of union, far behind the people of the Pacific continent. Although the territory of Canada exceeds that of Australia in actual area, it does not possess anything like the amount of land suitable for settlement by a people of European race. Although its mineral wealth appears to be great, it gives no such promise of greatness or variety as that of Australia.

While its people are prosperous they show, as the results of more than two centuries of effort, nothing approaching the wealth and prosperity which little more than sixty years of actual settlement has developed in Australia. Perhaps, above all, the people of Canada are a mixed population, only partly in sympathy with England, and partially animated by the national spirit and temper which have made Canada what she is in herself, and have led to the wide influence which she has exercised upon the world at large. With Australia it is emphatically otherwise. Among the great colonies of Britain her people alone, with the single exception of New Zealand, may be said to be an unmixed race. Drawn originally almost wholly from the British Islands, they are remarkable for the reproduction of all the characteristics of the race ; they are disposed to be even more imperialistic than any part of the nation at home ; and they are, almost without exception, heartily in favor of the connection with the mother country, which so far has been an unmixed advantage to them.

It is probably not too much to say that the colonies of Australia have always been regarded with special affection by the people of

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Great Britain. There was an element of novelty and strangeness about the vast unknown country, in all respects so unlike their own, which attracted them; and this attraction was heightened by the frequent discoveries of new and unsuspected sources of wealth in various districts of the continental island. The development of these resources has for many years been aided by very large investments of British capital in the form of public and private loans, or in that of direct investments in lands or in mining. As a result, Australia has remained, and to all appearance will remain, far more intimately connected in business with Great Britain than any other of the latter's greater colonies, with the exception of New Zealand.

A few statistics drawn from official sources will show to how great an extent this is true. During the year 1898 the imports into Britain from all her possessions amounted, approximately, to a value of $625,000,000; and her exports to them in the same year were valued at about $475,000,000. India, the total trade of which with Great Britain during 1898 amounted to fully $367,500,000, was the largest contributor to this total trade of $1,100,000,000; but Australasia came next with fully $300,000,000; South Africa followed with $150,000,000—which included nearly $80,000,000 of gold from the Transvaal—while the contribution of the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland to British trade amounted to something short of $90,000,000 in value. During the last year, therefore, on the basis of trade, the colonies of Australasia were worth twice as much to Great Britain as those of South Africa—even including the gold products of the Transvaal—and more than three times as much as all her possessions in North America. Thus it is evident that of the three groups of the great self-governing colonies of Britain that of Australasia is, from a business point of view, by far the most important.

It is not easy to overestimate the influence of this fact upon the future relations of the different parts of the British empire. It goes for much that already, after practically little more than sixty years of colonization, the trade of these Pacific colonies with England far exceeds that of the North American and South African colonies combined; but what is yet more suggestive is, that its capacity for expansion in the future is vastly greater. Already the import trade from Australasia to Britain exceeds that of India and Ceylon in value; and once more, in their case, there can be no comparison of the prospects of increase. Nor is this all that goes to increase the importance of the connection and of the influence of this on the future of the empire.

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The doctrine that trade follows the flag is only very partially true. In the case of barbarous peoples—whose trade, after all, is never very great—it may be said to be fairly borne out by experience; but it is apt to fail just in proportion as the people who are overshadowed by the flag grow in intelligence and assume rights of self-government. Unless the flag becomes a mere symbol of unity of feeling and interest, there is little reason to suppose that the trade will continue to follow it.

Of all the possessions of Great Britain none can at all compare in this respect with Australasia. The population of Canada is a mixed one, and is not likely to become less so while it is the refuge of Europe's persecuted and dissatisfied populations. The black inhabitants of South Africa far exceed the whites in number; and even of the people of European race probably fully a half are of Dutch rather than of British descent. The vast population of India is wholly alien; and it has been truly said of it that the more its conditions are improved by good government from England the harder will grow the task of governing it at all. In Australasia alone the population is, with a very trifling exception, of British descent; and their instincts, customs, traditions, and religious feelings bind them closely to the parent stock. There cannot grow up a new nation in Canada which shall be a true offshoot of the British people; for half its origin will be foreign, and the greater part of that half French. In South Africa it is even more impossible; because, in addition to the Dutch population, there is the preponderating element of the African races in a country better suited to their increase than to that of their European neighbors. In India the question is settled beyond the possibility of change: there can be no British nation in India, except in the capacity of a conquering caste. If, therefore, the British people are ever to expand to the dimensions of a great nation in any part of the empire outside Britain herself, it must be, and it can only be, in Australasia.

There is room enough and to spare for such an expansion in the continental island itself and its adjacent island of Tasmania. The 3,000,000 square miles of country embraces, it is true, a tropical as well as a temperate zone; but no part of it has been found unfit for settlement by people of European race. At present the population is mainly confined to the southeastern, southern, and southwestern districts of the country, and generally to a strip of land within 200 miles of the ocean; but there is no reason why this condition should continue. Scattered settlement has penetrated from 500 to 700 miles inland, and

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nowhere has it been found unprofitable. For agriculture such as is practised in temperate climates the eastern and southern parts of the great island are best adapted, owing to their greater rainfall ; but vast areas of the west and more central regions afford an almost unlimited scope for grazing and pastoral purposes. The northern districts are comparatively little known ; and as they are entirely tropical, they are likely to prove less suitable for an exclusively European population engaged in agriculture. But even there the climate appears to be far less trying to Europeans than that of India, southern China, or the islands of the Malay Archipelago.

It is, as I have said, practically little more than sixty years since any attempt was really made to settle a British population in Australia. Up to that time the country had been regarded as merely a suitable locality for the establishment and maintenance of two or three penal settlements so far from Britain as to discourage the return of emancipated convicts. Of these upwards of 100,000 had been sent to Australia and Tasmania. But sixty-five years ago the total population did not exceed the number of convicts sent out, in spite, of course, of a certain amount of natural increase. In sixty-four years that 100,000 has grown by immigration from the British Islands and by natural increase to 4,000,000 ; and the country itself has developed from one possessed of little wealth, and a merely nominal trade, to the position of having a foreign trade in exported goods alone amounting annually to more than $70 for each inhabitant. These exports are mainly pastoral and mineral ; and in both directions the field of production is of practically unlimited expansiveness. As a field for increasing population, therefore, Australia is at present second to none ; while from its position and connections it must necessarily receive most of its immigration from the mother country.

Two results may be looked for as almost certain to follow within a few years upon the establishment of the new Commonwealth. The first of these will be a greatly increased interference in all questions relating to the islands of the Malayan Archipelago and the South Pacific. The second will be a demand, at no distant period, for a recognized voice in determining the foreign policy of the empire. The two things are, it is almost needless to say, very closely connected. It has been frequently argued by those in favor of Australian union that it would be only through such a union that they could secure the controlling voice, to which their preponderance of interest entitled them, in all matters relating to the island groups lying near their shores or

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on the ocean highways between them and the rest of the world. The first use the new Commonwealth will be likely to make of its concentrated influence with the mother country will be to insist upon this. Such matters as the settlement of the Samoan difficulty it will look upon as peculiarly its own. The same is true of questions relating to New Guinea, to the nominally Dutch sphere of influence in many of the great islands of Malaysia, and to the islands occupied or claimed by the French and German governments in the South Pacific. All these are held to be of special interest to Australia, and, indeed, to interest Britain mainly as they affect the people of the new Commonwealth ; and there is a strong tendency to adopt, if not to announce, a kind of Australian Monroe Doctrine, and to look to England to see it carried into effect.

To do this efficiently will mean before long a reconsideration of the Constitution of the empire, by which it shall practically become a confederation of self-governing States under the presidency of the British crown. So long as there were many colonies, none of them containing more than 1,500,000 people, this could neither be asked nor granted. Even the existence of one larger dependency like Canada could hardly bring it about. But with the establishment of a second dependency, wealthier, more progressive, and more united, such as the Australian Commonwealth will certainly prove to be, the question will rapidly come to the front and call for settlement. The march of events points very clearly to the making of an effort, within the next year or two, to consolidate the provinces of South Africa as a federation of some sort. And when this has been accomplished it can only be a question of a very few years before the larger question of an imperial federation will demand a settlement. England already feels keenly the need of such strength as the addition of another 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 population fully committed to her foreign policy would be likely to give her ; and year by year this conviction will be more strongly forced upon her, as she finds that in her new colonial federations she has communities whose demands and wishes will inevitably expose her to the risk of greatly increased friction with other nations.

Under these circumstances, it cannot fail to be of interest to note the special characteristics of the constitution adopted by the people of Australia by which their new Commonwealth is to be governed. Some of the features presented are analogous to those found in the Constitution of this country, some bear a closer resemblance to those of the Constitution of Canada, while in addition to both there are marks

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of the advance of democratic ideas characteristic of the close of the century.

The point in the new constitution most strongly resembling America's is the provision for equal State representation in the Senate of the Parliament. At present the six colonies among which the whole territory of Australia and Tasmania is divided differ enormously in area. The largest colony contains nearly 1,000,000 square miles, and the smallest only 26,000, while the differences in population—though by no means coinciding with those of area—are almost equally extreme. In spite of this, the constitution provides that each colony or State shall send six representatives to the Senate of the Commonwealth Parliament, which will thus consist, when complete, of thirty-six members. So far it follows the model of this country and discards the example of the Dominion of Canada. On the other hand, it is provided that the senators shall be elected directly by the people of each colony, while it is left to the Parliament of each to determine whether the colony shall be divided into separate districts for the purpose or whether it shall be treated as one. This is a marked departure from the system of this country, as it brings the senators into direct touch with the electors ; and it is even more distinct from that of Canada, where the senators are not elected at all. The senators are elected for six years, one-half their number retiring at the end of every three years ; but special provision is made for the dissolution of the whole Senate, to be followed immediately by a new election of all its members, in case of the continuation of a deadlock in legislation between the Chambers after the more popular Chamber has been dissolved and reëlected.

The more popular Chamber, or House of Representatives, is to consist of twice as many members as the Senate, to be elected, in each of the States, on the basis of manhood suffrage in proportion to the population as ascertained by the latest census returns of the Commonwealth, but, in the first instance, on the basis of population as ascertained by the latest colonial census. The Commonwealth Parliament may increase, at its discretion, the number of members of the House of Representatives. This, however, is subject to the proviso, that, on the whole, the number of members of the House shall never exceed that of the Senate by more than the present proportion of two to one. The members are to be elected for three years, but subject, as in Great Britain, to the right of the Government—which in Australia will consist of a Cabinet possessing the confidence of a majority of the Parlia-

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ment, presided over by the Governor-General—to dissolve the House and bring on a new election at any time.

The Governor-General of the Commonwealth is to be appointed, from time to time, by the Queen, and is to have the same powers and duties as are now held and exercised by the colonial governors, subject, however, to the limitations of the Commonwealth Act. This provision will render his position very similar to that of the Queen's representative in Canada, though apparently with less actual power. His office will be social rather than political, within the Commonwealth, while he will supply the only apparent link between the Government of the Commonwealth and the British Cabinet in London. Technically, the power of granting a dissolution of the Parliament will remain vested in the Governor-General; but as it must be exercised when the occasions contemplated by the constitution arise, and as these cover nearly all the circumstances in which such a course would probably be advised by the Cabinet, he will be found to have but little discretion in the matter. It will also rest with him to reserve for the assent of the sovereign—which of course means that of the British Cabinet—any statutes passed by the Parliament which may appear likely to affect the external relations of the country with any other nation; but it may be taken for granted that such a contingency will rarely arise.

In determining the relations between the Commonwealth and the colonies or States embraced by the new federation, the precedent of this country has been followed and that of Canada departed from. The jurisdiction of the Commonwealth is strictly confined to certain specified matters; while all others remain within the power of the States, which thus retain that independence of which they are deprived in Canada by the Constitution of the Dominion. The specified subjects of legislative and executive control embrace a wider range than in this country; including, as they do, not merely such questions as those of defence, currency, navigation, naturalization, banking, patents and copyrights, immigration, and the postal service of the country, but a considerable number of others, such as the laws of marriage and divorce and of old-age pensions, and the execution throughout the Commonwealth of the judgments and processes of the courts of each State, the present control of State railroads for all purposes of transport for military purposes, and the acquisition from the States, with their consent, of the State railroads and telegraphs, and their permanent extension and management. There is also vested in the Government of the Commonwealth the sole right of imposing cus-

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toms and excise duties, as well as the power to levy other taxes as may be required in addition to those levied by the States ; the sole condition being, that the latter shall not be so levied as to discriminate between States or parts of States.

The most remarkable departures from the constitutions of both this country and Canada may be found in the more democratic provisions for securing the rule of the majority of the people, in the last resort, in spite of the equality of representation of large and small States in the Senate. Should a contest arise between the two Chambers of the Parliament in which neither will give way, it is provided that the more popular Chamber shall be dissolved and reëlected; and should the same deadlock between the Chambers follow the election, there shall then be a dissolution and a new election of the members of both Chambers, after which, in case no agreement can be arrived at, a joint sitting of the members of both Chambers shall take place, and the question in dispute shall be settled by a simple majority of all the Parliament voting together. To secure the amendment of the constitution in such respects as a majority of the people may desire, it is provided that the constitutional amendment sought for shall be proposed in an act to be brought before the Parliament. Should it be accepted by one Chamber and rejected by the other, it may then be referred to the electors by way of referendum ; and in case it shall be accepted by a majority of those voting throughout the Commonwealth residing in a majority of the States, the amendment shall be incorporated in the constitution.

By these provisions it is hoped to secure the practical rule of the majority to a greater extent, and in a more workable form, than is provided for either in this country or in Canada, while due weight is also given to the desires of the different States. The result can hardly fail to be a federation possessing the characteristics of a pure democracy in an unusual degree, under a constitution possessing more elasticity and facility for adapting itself to changing circumstances than that of the United States, and with much greater security for the individual independence of the State governments than can be maintained under the Canadian Constitution. It is important to observe that this measure proceeds on lines that are emphatically democratic, because there is in this a guarantee for the uninterrupted continuance, and even advance, of Britain in that direction.

It needs no prophetic spirit to foresee that within another twenty-five years the British empire will consist no longer of a single country surrounded by a group of great colonies and dependencies, but of a

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federation of States bound together by common ties of blood, traditions, language, religion, and law, under the presidency of the British crown. In such a federation may well be found the solution of the vexed question of Ireland's self-government. Under it, it is not too much to hope that in Canada the English and French elements of population may be thoroughly amalgamated in feeling as well as in institutions, or that in a great South African Commonwealth the British and Dutch elements may grow permanently reconciled. By the time such a federation can go into effect, however, there is no doubt that, next to the parent State, the Commonwealth of Australia will be at once the most important and the most powerful element. Her population will probably by that time exceed 10,000,000 ; her public revenues, which to-day amount to upwards of $125,000,000 a year, will at least have doubled ; her vast territory will have been developed ; and her marvellous wealth in minerals, which to-day makes Australia the second gold-producer of the world, will still keep her people, as they are now, the richest per head of any country on the globe. The possibilities of such a federation, it need not be pointed out, are vast ; and it may be well to remember that next to Great Britain herself no nation has so deep and near an interest in these as the people of the United States, the most closely linked with Britain in blood and interests.

HUGH H. LUSK.

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THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY.

PRIOR to 1870 Germany's exports of food-supplies exceeded her imports. Since then, however, the scale has turned, and to such an extent that even when the harvests are good it is possible for her to raise only a little more than three-fourths of the country's needs. This is partly due to the fact that the factories have attracted the labor, leaving insufficient workmen for the land. The number of persons in Germany directly and indirectly engaged in agriculture has been continually diminishing. In 1871 it was 47.3 per cent of the entire population ; 44.6 per cent in 1882 ; and 37.5 per cent in 1895—a decrease of 7 per cent in thirteen years. If the decrease should continue at the present rate agriculture will have disappeared in Germany in seventy or eighty years.

At the close of the war with France there were large numbers of men seeking work ; and the utilization of the indemnity fund in the construction of public improvements diverted this labor from farming toward other kinds of work. Again, the diminution, of late years, in the time of service in the German army and the necessity of Germany seeking in the several industries a recompense for her inability to compete in agricultural pursuits, even in her own markets, have stimulated and aided her to become a great industrial and manufacturing country. The labor of the Empire is well trained, and the goods are of a superior quality ; so that now the mark, "made in Germany," instead of warning the would-be purchaser, is looked upon as a guarantee of excellence and insures a ready sale.

If we turn to the United States we find her emerging from a successful war through which territory, with new markets, has been acquired. Railroads and ships have been built, canals dug, large water-power developed, and all branches of industry extended. At the present time our exports are $1,000,000 daily, including Sundays and holidays. The exports of iron and steel have increased tenfold in the past thirty years; copper exports have advanced more rapidly still; and the foreign sales of leather goods have doubled in the last ten years.

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If this growth of American exports continues, Europe will be brought face to face with competition more powerful than it ever dreamed of. With the Niagara Canal cut, with cotton mills beside the plantations in the South turning off cheap cloths, with iron and steel works in Alabama, Ohio, and Pennsylvania close to the mines of coal, with the unequalled extension of internal communications, and with adequate terminal facilities at all our seaports there appears to be no limit to our progress.

In Germany there has been a marked decline in agriculture since 1879, when there were formed the treaties with Russia and Austria-Hungary, in which the protection granted to the home producer was insufficient. This condition was not improved by the subsequent commercial treaties of 1892 and 1894. By cheapening the transportation of grain from Russia the German manufacturer was indirectly benefited—at the expense, however, of the agriculturist; for it made it quite impossible for the latter to compete with the outside world.

By Germany's inability to feed her own people the United States profits to the extent of $42,000,000 annually, in the way of cereals and meats. But at the present rate of industrialism in this country it is uncertain as to how long we can contribute food-supplies. Our exports during the past twenty years have been divided between agricultural and industrial products in the following proportion: 1880, 83.25 to 12.48; 1890, 74.51 to 17.87; 1897, 66.23 to 26.87. These figures show that there has been a gradual decrease in the relative amount of agricultural exports and a corresponding increase in the export of manufactured articles. With the increase in the population of the United States the amount of food-supplies that can be spared for foreign consumption will be diminished, since the major part of the increase will turn toward industrial occupations. At the same time the demand abroad is growing; and countries that were formerly exporting foods are now—as Austria, for example—joining the ranks of the importers.

There is therefore a twofold reason for stimulating agriculture in Germany: (1) the uncertainty as to the possibility of maintaining the manufacturing industries at their present high stage of advancement, through the unwillingness of other nations to buy German manufactures; and (2) the danger of a diminution of imports of foods through war, crop failures in the supplying countries, prohibitive export laws, or high protective tariffs in Germany on foods. Any of these misfortunes, if coming singly, would first of all cause an increase in the price

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of food-supplies. This would bring some of the less productive lands, now lying idle, under cultivation. To accomplish this, much capital would be required ; and its withdrawal, together with the necessary diversion of labor from manufactures, would render the remaining laborers less able to buy the necessaries of life. We would therefore see this condition : fewer imports because of inability to buy them, and fewer exports on account of lack of labor and capital. That is, a curtailing of imports causes a decrease in exports ; one working automatically upon the other as reciprocal cause and effect.

The agricultural exports of the United States can be greatly increased without any noticeable effect upon the capital and labor available for manufactures. We have hardly begun to practise intensive cultivation, although we have within our boundaries nine-tenths of the natural fertilizers of the world. It would be easily possible for us to add to our production without adding to our acreage under cultivation. The problem then would be to find buyers, and to accomplish this we must become buyers. It is to the interest of an agricultural country to buy of an industrial nation ; for, by so doing, the abilities of each to buy are correspondingly increased. The principle of economical division of labor is of course supposed to prevail without impairment to the free interchange of products. With the artificial restrictions placed by our protective tariff policy upon the importation into this country of manufactured products, it becomes a serious question as to how quickly it might be necessary for Germany to pass from an industrial country buying one-fifth of its food-supplies abroad to one depending upon its own resources for food. Before attempting to say whether or not Germany is physically able to meet the necessities of the nation, with its increasing population, it should be plainly stated that a successful attempt on the part of Germany to provide for her own people would mean to us the loss of one of our best customers ; jeopardizing a total trade of $250,000,000.

During the last ten years there has been in Germany a marked increase in the rearing of stock ; and attention is now turned toward the development of swamp lands and such improvement in methods of farming as will secure larger crops. At the present time there are about 32,000,000 acres of land under cultivation. If the average yield could be increased by 200 pounds per acre in the mean of wheat, barley, and potatoes there would be ample for the present needs and for years to come. The cost of drainage, irrigation, and other forms of improvement would be considerable, and for a while might increase

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the cost of foods. It would be hard on the laboring class and the small farmer, and might necessitate the fixing of land rentals by the state.

Much has been written regarding the animosity shown in Germany toward meat products from the United States ; and great efforts have been put forth to show that it was a retaliatory measure to even up, so to speak, for our protective tariff. But the German meat inspection law dates back to 1894, the year during which the Texas fever prevailed among cattle in certain districts in the United States. The German Government, believing the disease to be of a bacterial nature and consequently transmissible by the meat of diseased cattle, issued a decree forbidding the importation into Germany of live cattle or fresh meat of American origin. Several neighboring countries, including Belgium and Denmark, followed Germany's lead. But the dependence of the dense population of Belgium upon the United States for food-supplies necessitated a revocation of Belgium's decree against American meats. As one of the most important ports of entry in all Europe is in Belgium, it was regarded as extremely probable that live cattle from this country could be brought to Belgium, there slaughtered, and the meat shipped to Germany. The logical furtherance of Germany's policy required that the same restriction be placed upon meats coming from Belgium as existed regarding meats from this country.

No one can object to a meat inspection ; and our own Government recognizes the importance of vouchsafing the purity and wholesomeness of our exports by requiring a special examination of all meats and animals intended for foreign consumption. The main trouble is in the terms of the German law, which defines as unwholesome certain conditions which we regard as harmless ; and there are also possibilities of interpretation that make it possible to have meats condemned which have satisfied the requirements here. Cases have been reported in which unscrupulous persons have put unwholesome meat in packages bearing evidence of American inspection. This has aroused, in the minds of those ignorant of the fraud, a natural dread of meats coming from this country, and a loss of confidence in the value of our inspection. Of course, other influences have been at work, urging the imposition of such regulations as would completely bar out all our meats. But to this we ought to raise no protest, since we erect artificial barriers to protect interests that are less valuable to us than are the agrarian interests to Germany. A German meat inspection is right and proper, and no one can say that it is aimed at any one country. All we can expect is, that it be rational, and executed impartially.

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A new project is under consideration at this time, and there is reason to believe that its provisions will satisfy all honest, reasonable exporters. It will not be retaliatory in the slightest sense, for to a much greater extent than our law-makers do the Germans seem to appreciate the commercial interdependence of the two countries. If this were not the case they would raise more effectual protests against such inequalities as the duty in this country of 13 per cent on German sausage, while our sausage pays only 6 per cent when it enters Germany.

In discussing the commercial relations of the two countries under consideration too much stress has been put upon the part that is played by the agrarians in influencing protective measures in Germany. The great forces there, such as the chambers of commerce, the manufacturers, and the banking interests, urge the necessity of a trade policy having for its aim the continuance of existing commercial treaties with foreign countries and the avoidance of a tariff war. This is also the view of the military party, which has many adherents among the agriculturalists; so that the agrarians will be unable to bring about any marked changes in the schedule now forming.

Germany has no special commercial treaty with the United States; the "most favored nation" clause, granted by Germany without receiving in return any special favors, is the basis of mutual trade. When this concession was made it was presupposed that the two nations would maintain toward each other such tariffs as would not make the exchange of goods prohibitory. The Dingley tariff, however, has seriously affected Germany's exports to us. Her imports from the United States in 1898 exceeded those of the previous year in twenty-five leading lines, whereas she exported to the United States considerably less in twenty important lines than in 1897, the figures being:

Year.	Imports into Germany from the United States.	Exports from Germany to the United States.
1897	$156,000,000	$94,000,000
1898	208,000,000	77,000,000
Increase	$52,000,000	.....
Decrease	.....	$17,000,000

The excess in favor of the United States increased from $62,000,000 in 1897 to $131,000,000 in 1898, while as late as 1893 the balance of trade was in the opposite direction. Under such conditions it is

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quite natural that Germany should ask, "Is the most-favored-nation clause without a tariff reduction on the part of the United States of any value to us?"

Germany feels that this balance of trade must be met in some way, and has sought to accomplish this end by developing her manufacturing resources. She has promoted all forms of technical training, and has inculcated in the industrial arts all possible economies. Markets for her products have been studiously sought; and she has wisely instructed her manufacturers concerning the particular desires of would-be purchasers as to styles, qualities, and prices. The result of this effort has been a most rapid turning toward industrialism, as may be seen in her exports. In round numbers these have been:

1880	$722,000,000
1890	830,000,000
1898	960,000,000

In 1898 Great Britain exported about the same amount as in 1880 and less than in 1890. During the same period the Germans went ahead steadily, gaining about 33 per cent. Germany's fleet has also been greatly enlarged under the influence of her export business. In the last twenty-four years the tonnage of vessels sailing under the German flag has increased 50 per cent.

This increase in the manufactures of Germany is causing no little concern at home as well as abroad. It means first of all a dependence upon export trade, with its consequent dependence upon foreign lands materially, if not, to some extent, politically. A country that relies upon export trade runs many risks, not the least of which is the opportunity that other countries have to set the price of wares within their boundaries by the establishment of protective duties. Just now Germany is feeling the effect of the danger named in her relations with the United States. The bounty that was paid on sugar in this country, for a short period, stimulated its production, and caused an increase of consumption relatively greater than the decrease in price. The effect of this was an enlarged demand for this article; and German farmers were aided in their efforts to contribute toward meeting this demand by the receipt from their Government of an export bounty. This bounty was so efficient that Germany soon raised her production of beet-sugar to 1,725,000 tons annually, two-thirds of which was for export.

For a short time the United States took one-half of Germany's sur-

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plus ; and as the rate of exchange was low from this country to Germany, owing to the large purchases the latter country was making from us in the shape of foods and raw material, there was a twofold stimulus for the continuance of the production of beet-sugar by the German farmer. Expensive plants were erected, the sequence of crops was discarded for the one-crop system, and every available acre was put in beets. Suddenly it occurred to our law-makers that the sugar-producer in this country needed protection, and that the bounty plan was in the nature of special or class legislation. So the bonus was withdrawn, and a protective duty imposed on sugar. This, however, would not have affected the few countries that paid an export bounty, had there not been added the principle of countervailing duties, which requires that sugar that has received an export bounty must pay in addition to the regular duty an amount equivalent to what had been received as a bonus for exporting. This was, of course, equivalent to eliminating the bonus, and the duty became practically prohibitive. Consequently, the production of sugar in Germany is now no longer profitable, so that a change in industry must be made, naturally at a great loss. This incident is mentioned in this connection to show how dependent an exporting country is upon conditions over which it has absolutely no control.

Germany has learned well the lesson taught by this experience, and every effort is being made to minimize her dependence ; and just in proportion as she succeeds in feeding her people and in making fair exchanges of her manufactures for raw materials, this country will be the loser. The *fair* exchange here referred to means an exchange on equitable terms, without any restrictions except those imposed by the economical principle underlying the idea of division of labor.

The protective principle of the United States, the imperial policy of Great Britain, and the movement in Russia for concentration compel the middle European states to reduce the tariff on food-supplies and to increase that on manufactures. This was foreshadowed in the German schedules adopted in 1894, and various industries have been aided by means of subsidies, premiums, and export bounties. But some of these stimulants have been so nullified by discriminating legislation, notably in the United States, that great as is the disinclination on the part of the German people to make changes in the tariff—changes that always cause unrest in the economical life of a nation—it becomes necessary in the interests of self-preservation to increase to a slight extent the tariff on manufactures, reduce the duty on food-supplies and raw

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materials, and stimulate agriculture by lowering the taxes on agricultural lands or by placing bounties on crops raised for domestic markets.

The question of a central European Tariff Union is not a visionary one, and may be forced into existence for reasons such as have been enumerated. The best market for a nation is another nation that stands on approximately the same level. In other words, neighboring states can best deal with one another. Thus, if we conceive Europe as divided into two groups, the first to comprise Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan States, while the second includes England, France, Belgium, and Holland, then Germany's trade might be exhibited as follows, in percentages. Of her total exports:

Year.	To First Group.	To Second Group.	To Europe.	To United States.
1896..	24.3	53.1	77.4	....
1897..	23.4	54.7	78.1	10.2

Of the imports:

Year.	From First Group.	From Second Group.	From Europe.	From United States.
1896..	29.2	37.7	66.8	....
1897..	28.6	37.5	66.1	20.4

The experience of each of the countries constituting the second group is practically identical with that of Germany; showing that the bulk of trade of industrial states is with other industrial states that permit of free, or only mildly restrictive, intercourse with one another. If these countries should be forced into a union, it would be a union powerful enough to support its component peoples, for a time at least, without calling upon this country for a single necessity. We should then find ourselves with great industries working under the stimulus of a generous protection and turning out products that would strike against barriers in attempting to follow their accustomed channels; and in the inability at once to transform our energies or arrest the output along many lines, there would be an overproduction of manufactures which no one could buy and granaries of cereals which none would need to purchase. The result would then be the inevitable crisis that comes to a marketless nation.

We need Germany as a buyer of foods, of raw materials, and of certain manufactures that for obvious reasons we are especially fitted to furnish. We also wish that her ability to purchase may increase instead of decrease; and we should rejoice in that prosperity that would

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enable the German artisan to buy two loaves of bread instead of one. And we ought to regard it a misfortune that Chemnitz can now sell us only five millions of dollars' worth of textiles, when prior to the operation of the Dingley schedule that city sent us annually textiles to the value of eleven millions.

There is still another element that needs to be considered in this connection. It is the large amount of American securities held in Germany; the aggregate railroad stocks and bonds alone being $180,000,000. With the increase of wealth in this country, those that are valuable will be bought up and transferred to owners on this side. By cutting off the transfer of dividends to Germany, the amount of money available for investment here in those articles needed by the people formerly holding our securities will be greatly diminished; thus placing Germany, as well as the other rich countries of Europe, that much further behind in the balance of trade.

There has not been for twelve years such an opportune time as now for putting this country on the safe side in our commercial relations with Germany. The term of Germany's tariff schedule has nearly expired, and a commission is now preparing the scheme for the new one. Since these bills have a fixed period during which they are not subject to change, it will be readily appreciated that the prosperity of the United States is to a considerable extent involved in the conditions that may be placed on imports from this country. As an industrial country Germany would be only too glad to make favorable arrangements with the United States; but something must be conceded for each favor expected, and a sort of reciprocity must prevail.

It is true we are a great people, but we are not independent of the rest of the world. It is true we have a country with unparalleled natural facilities for manufactures and agricultural pursuits, with an ingenious people utilizing machinery in every possible direction, with a territory so vast as to include soil and climate adapted to all the forms of food demanded by man and beast, and with mines to yield many sorts of ores as well as the coal for their reduction. But with these blessings—blessings in abundance—there may be a limit to our industrial advance.

Under normal conditions two causes can arrest our progress; viz., scarcity of labor and a loss of our agricultural exports. With the immigration we have had in such abundant measure, together with our increase in native population, it would seem impossible that labor should ever be scarce. In quantity, perhaps, this may be true; but

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for the manufactories some skill is required, and intelligence above the ordinary is needed. Then, for each additional five or six families whose heads are engaged in the shops or factories, one farmer must start his plough for their support, or else our exports must be diminished by a corresponding amount. This farmer must take up new lands, less productive than those now farmed, or else a subdivision of lands now under cultivation must take place. Both these steps have been taken. The size of farms has decreased from 199 acres in 1860 to 137 in 1890, and the number of farms has increased a great many fold in this period.

While the total acreage under cultivation has increased rapidly, it has not been greatly in excess of our increase in population; so that we cannot expect to continue to add to our exports of foods unless we start upon a scheme of more intense cultivation. It is, therefore, inevitable that sooner or later we shall cease to control the food-supplies of the world; and then, as other countries become independent of us, we shall become dependent upon them, or at least shall no longer be in a position to dictate terms of exchange. It is now, while we are strong in agricultural and industrial exports, that we can make the best terms with the other members in the family of nations; and it is now that we can accept the principle of economical division of labor, with its corollary that looks toward free trade, and with its ethical injunction to live and help live.

JAMES HOWARD GORE.

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ZANGWILL'S PLAY, "THE CHILDREN OF THE GHETTO."

In the literary anarchy which marks the exit of the nineteenth century æsthetic emotion is often confounded with interest in plot and incident. The same human nature which is thrilled by the clever disentanglement of an ingeniously entangled set of events may also take keen delight in a picture of simple life; but there is no more reason why we should confuse these two sources of enjoyment than there is to put the pleasure of a mathematician unravelling a complex problem side by side with that of a schoolboy watching a fight. These elements of emotional activity may have some points of contact; but they belong to two distinct classes of psychical phenomena, and should be treated separately. However difficult the definition of art, one thing is clear: It is a source of æsthetic enjoyment, and has as little to do with what may be called plot interest as it has with sportsmanship. To judge of the art of a novel or a drama by the amount of plot it contained would be like measuring silk by the bushel or time by the yard. Yet this is exactly what is done every day by reviewers of books and plays, and what was done recently by some of the critics of Israel Zangwill's drama, "The Children of the Ghetto."

The storm of discussion which the production of this play has raised is one of the literary events of the year. Few works of art have awakened so much acrimony, on the one hand, and so much enthusiastic praise, on the other, as has "the Zangwill play." One of the chief faults pointed out by its adverse critics is the meagreness of the story which forms the framework of the drama, and the abundance of character-portraiture the omission of which would increase the rapidity of movement. This reminds one of the little girl who will skip all the descriptive passages in her novel that she may the sooner find out whether the hero married the heroine. "The Children of the Ghetto" is not a blood-and-thunder production. It is a piece of art; and the interest it is intended to arouse is one of pure æsthetics.

The central motive of the play flows from one of the most unique and interesting situations ever exploited by the stage; and the artistic

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detail which the critics have found superfluous is made up of pulsating bits of life, each contributing to the reality of the vital parts of the play, and all harmoniously blending into an ensemble of singular power and beauty. So far from retarding the progress of the drama these character-studies seem to quicken it by adding to the convincing force of the story. The play consists of a mass of human interest—as varied in its fun and its sadness as life itself—out of which the basic event shapes itself in the most natural way. It belongs to the same class as Hauptmann's "Die Weber," where a multitude of types and seemingly detached scenes combine to throw into high relief the central idea of the play.

"The Children of the Ghetto" depicts the world of Talmudic Judaism crumbling under the pressure of modern culture. It shows two civilizations seventeen centuries apart at the point of collision, and the desperate struggle of the past for existence under the crushing weight of the present. It is a breathing, throbbing picture of a social phenomenon instinct with historical as well as dramatic interest. The present home of the Talmudic Ghetto is in the smaller towns of Russia, Poland, Galicia, Hungary, and Roumania. In modern London or New York it is an immigrant; and it has in it both the tragedy and the comedy of a foreigner struggling to make himself at home amid uncongenial surroundings. The crowding out of the Talmudic spirit by modern influences is going on in the most out-of-the-way town in Poland as well as in London; but in the former the process is almost imperceptible, while in the Ghetto of the English metropolis it is clearly visible to the naked eye. In Zangwill's play the old world triumphs over the new; yet the inevitable doom of this wonderful old world gives a mournful echo to the most irresistible fun of the work and lends special meaning to every stroke of the artist's brush.

The curtain rises on two men—Phillips, the host, and Birnbaum, the young second husband of his old mother-in-law—playing cards. There is a "Dedication lamp" and a *mezuzah* in the house. *Mezuzahs* and Dedication lamps usually go with sidelocks and beards untouched by steel. Here the two men who are playing cards "in honor of the Feast of Dedication" are shaved and dressed "like Gentiles." Malka, the self-willed, self-contradictory, vain, tyrannical, and kindly mother-in-law, wears a wig. It is a Russian Malka, but in her birthplace she would have been shocked by the very sight of a shaved Jew. In London her own husband and son-in-law shave their beards, and she takes it as a matter of course. Pinchas, the Ghetto poet (a living blend of

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self-adoration, intellectual restlessness, low cunning, and sincere ecstasy), comes to sell a copy of a pamphlet of which he is at once the author and the peddler. But the men in the house know no Hebrew, and make fun of the scholar—not in the way a Polish "man of the earth" might do it, but like people completely estranged from Judaism.

Enter Sam Levine, the jocose commercial traveller, who is engaged to be married to Malka's younger daughter. He is even less of a Jew than Phillips or Birnbaum. He can say, in Hebrew, "Thou art consecrated to me by this ring according to the laws of Moses and Israel;" but this he seems to have learned only recently, in his impatience to marry his girl. When Hannah, the English-born daughter of Rabbi Shemuel, calls at the Phillipses', he pronounces the solemn formula as he jocosely slips a ring on her finger; and when he is startled to hear that his religion takes his jest in good earnest, and that in the eye of the Law of Israel he is Hannah's husband, he speaks and acts "like a Gentile speaking Yiddish," as Malka would put it.

Moses Ansell, a helpless, ragged peddler, arrives on the scene. He comes in with bowed head, timidly offering his wares for sale. When Malka consults him upon the Law (for she knows him to be a scholar) he lifts his head and proudly proceeds to quote and to expound. In Russia his thirteen-year-old daughter, the motherless Esther, might perhaps take care of her father and her little brothers, and be a "little mother in Israel;" but she would neither speak "Gentile speech" better than Yiddish, nor know that Lord Byron was a handsome fellow. Reb (Rabbi) Shemuel, the charming Reb Shemuel, so full of self-sacrificing piety, wisdom, and good-natured humor, would do honor to the most hard-baked Talmudic community on the continent; but if his daughter, Hannah, danced with men there as she does at the London Purim ball, the old man would be sure to lose his position.

It is at this ball that Hannah meets and falls in love with David Brandon, the up-to-date Jew from the Cape, after her mock-marriage was annulled by a *get* (divorce) ceremony. A continental Reb Shemuel would not allow his daughter to marry a lax Jew like David. Here all the old rabbi exacts is a *kosher* kitchen and the most superficial observance of the Sabbath. It is not until he learns that the young man is a Cohen, a priest of the tribe of Aaron, which is enjoined from marrying a divorced woman, that the fond father, who is ready to die for his daughter's happiness, breaks her heart and his own rather than let her violate the letter of the ancient Law by becoming David's wife.

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The scene between David, Reb Shemuel, and Hannah, which is the climax and the most brilliant part of the drama, is also the highest manifestation of the struggle between Talmudic Judaism and the new world.

"The Law knows no exception, the Law is perfect," moans Reb Shemuel. "You are a Cohen—a priest."

"A priest! Ha! Ha! Ha!" David laughs bitterly. "A Jewish priest in the nineteenth century, when the Temple has been destroyed these two thousand years!"

"It will be rebuilt, please God. We must be ready for it."

"Oh, yes, I'll be ready! Ha! Ha! Ha! Holy unto the Lord! I a priest! Ha! Ha! Do you know what my holiness consists in? In eating *trepha* meat and going to synagogue a few times a year. . . So the first sacrifice the priest is called upon to make is your daughter . . and this is the end of the nineteenth century."

"God lives in all centuries."

The law which stands between David and Hannah occurs in the Pentateuch (Leviticus, chap. 21, verse 7); yet it takes a Talmudic Jew like Reb Shemuel to observe it; and the dialogue quoted mirrors the conflict between the Talmudic Judaism and the "lax Judaism" of our time.

Hannah is attached to her faith as part of the atmosphere amid which she has grown up. She complains of its rigidity, however, and is tempted to elope with her lover to America. David comes after her at the moment her father, attired in his shroud, is presiding over the *seder* (Passover Feast), and when his kindly old voice is heard chanting the story of the emancipation of the Jews from Egypt. The author has selected the most charming moment in the domestic life of the Jew. He who has witnessed the *seder* scene in the house of an orthodox Jew will realize how impossible it would be for a girl of Hannah's type to tear herself away from her father's house on such a night. The spectator knows how passionately she loves David; yet, when she closes the shutters in his face and returns to the *seder* of her father, whose chant is heard coming from the next room, the scene is as persuasive as it is heart-breaking.

Reb Shemuel, in whose majestic figure the author has embodied the world of old Judaism, gains his point, and the playgoer is glad for him; and yet, as the curtain falls, one cannot help feeling that the grand old man's triumph is not destined to last long. Hannah has obeyed the Law, at a terrible sacrifice. Will her children obey it?

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She will marry somebody who is not an Aaronite, but who, like David Brandon, "eats *trepha* and goes to synagogue only a few times a year." Will their children be true to the traditions for which their grandfather is ready to give his life? Will they understand his kindly Yiddish at all? The sad experience of the Ghettos of England and America says, No.

Shortly before Hannah refuses to elope with David, while Reb Shemuel is at the synagogue, a crowd of famished Jewish workingmen make a demonstration against the religion of their fathers. They clamor for an up-to-date sort of Passover, one which will celebrate their emancipation from their own economical bondage. Their leaders are Simon Wolf and Pinchas. Reb Shemuel addresses the crowd, and it reverently disperses. But alas! his victory over the socialists and atheists has even less endurance than his triumph over his daughter's passion for the Cohen. It is owing to the moral complexion of Pinchas and Simon that the heartfelt appeal of the noble rabbi meets with easy success. At the bottom of their hearts the honest sweat-shop hands can have no faith in such leaders. The other socialists and literati of the Ghetto hate Simon and Pinchas as much as Mr. Zangwill seems to do. Some of these are as pure and exalted as Rabbi Shemuel, and as ready to make sacrifices to their ideals as he is to his; and their influence over the Ghetto is much greater and more lasting than that of the rabbis.

Simon Wolf and Melchizedek Pinchas are living beings, especially the latter, who is one of the most striking creations in modern literature; but each of them represents the scum of his class and makes no impression on the masses. The honest labor leaders and Yiddish writers of the London Ghetto have created a literature and a movement which have turned thousands of illiterate Jewish tailors into well-read thinkers. These self-sacrificing workers have become the connecting link between the Ghetto and the English-speaking world; and by spreading the light of modern culture among their brethren, and inducing them to learn the language of their adopted country, they are hastening the fall of Reb Shemuel's world. William Morris, the poet, was a frequent guest at the socialist clubs of the London Ghetto; and this noble Gentile had far more influence among the tailors of Whitechapel than Reb Shemuel.

The hundreds of New York tailors who will beggar themselves to keep their boys in college derive their inspiration from the same Jewish Bohemia of which Pinchas is an unworthy member; and, for that

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matter, even Pinchas is not quite as bad as he has been made out to be by some critics. He is eaten up with vanity, and is absolutely devoid of moral principle; but he has a head and a heart, and his very dishonesty is accompanied by an ecstasy which is as touching as it is amusing. He boasts, he flatters, he lies; but whatever he may say, once he gets started, he becomes convinced and enthused by his own eloquence.

Pinchas belongs to a type of scholarly Jews who spend their youth studying the Talmud and then, breaking loose from the moorings of their religion, apply themselves to modern Hebrew literature. The boyhood and youth of Reb Shemuel and Moses Ansell are similar to those of the poet; but the former have remained true to their Talmud. These are two lifelike images representing a world which in its everyday existence is dominated by the Jews of Babylonia of the second and third centuries.

The Babylonian epoch forms one of the happiest periods in the history of the unhappy people. The Jews of Babylonia enjoyed a high degree of prosperity and political independence; but their real happiness and glory—what made their period a source of inspiration to many of the succeeding ages—lay in the great stimulus that was given in their time to the study of the Law. Business and almost all public functions were suspended for two months in the year, to give the people a chance to attend the public lectures which were then delivered from early in the morning till late at night. Great stress was laid on the intellectual acuteness with which deductions were made; and the highest ideal of the race was to possess such acuteness, as well as diligence in the study of the Law "for the Law's sake." Such was the essence of intellectual and spiritual life among the Jews of Babylonia of seventeen or eighteen centuries ago, and such it has remained in the smaller Jewish towns of Europe. The twenty portly volumes containing the teachings of the Babylonian rabbis (*amoraim*) are still the great subject of study; and the synagogue is still the college, the library, and the club-house of the population.

The twenty volumes of the Babylonian Talmud form a cyclopædia of discussion, full of remarkable acumen, upon religion, ethics, bits of science, and anecdote. They dominate the Jew of the out-of-the-way town in Russia, Austria, or Roumania every minute of his life. They are his guide in his relations with his neighbors and his counsellor in serving God; his mathematics and his art; his source of comfort in this world and his guarantee of a "share in the world to come." The

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sons of the better element spend all their time studying these folios till a year or two after they are married ; and later on, they drop in at the synagogue to study the ancient books whenever opportunity offers.

When, for example, you meet a Jew with sidelocks on his way from Broadway to Hester Street, in New York City, you see a man going from the nineteenth century to the second. To boast of a lack of interest in Reb Shemuel or Moses Ansell, therefore, as some of the critics of "The Children of the Ghetto" play have done, is to pride one's self upon a lack of interest in the living, but rapidly crumbling, relic of a musty past bubbling over with intellectual and emotional energy. He who does so cannot sincerely admire the dumb statues in the Roman corridor of the British Museum or the excavations of Pompeii. It is only in business that the Jews know how to put their best goods in the window. Outside of it their slight faults are apt to catch the eye more readily than their important virtues. Some of their noblest and most interesting things are hidden from view ; and some of these are shown by Zangwill in his "Children of the Ghetto."

The Talmud, which is the second nature of Reb Shemuel, the real hero of the play, has made the Jews what they are—a people of thinkers and enthusiasts. There is scarcely a child of the Ghetto but has some mental or sentimental hobby to delight his soul. Reb Shemuel is enraptured with his religion ; Moses Ansell, the peddler, is absorbed in the intricacies of the Law, with which he has even a more intimate acquaintance than the old rabbi ; Guedalyah, the greengrocer, is scheming to send the wandering race back to Palestine ; while Pinchas is a poet in the very hypocrisy with which his soul is saturated.

Passing to the women of the drama, we find the same faithfulness to reality and the same genius for sketching off traits which are characteristic of the life of the whole race. In the old Ghettos of Europe it is quite common for a family to practise that peculiar division of labor under which the husband spends the whole day in "Law and service" at the synagogue while the wife attends to the affairs of this world. It is only too natural, therefore, that both Reb Shemuel and Ansell should be poor business men and that in each instance there should be a woman to remind the man of his worldly interests. The old rabbi has his nagging wife to put him in mind of the fees he neglects to collect ; while in the case of poor Moses Ansell there is the thirteen-year-old "mother in Israel" to take care of him and things generally.

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The strongest female character in the play is Malka, who has "two businesses and three children, although she never read a book in her life, except a prayer-book." She is the best portrait of a typical business woman of the Ghetto ever produced; and Mrs. Belcovitch, the imaginary invalid, who "can hardly crawl around" with her two ill-matched feet, "a t'ick one and a t'in one," and her medicine bottle filled with water, is another marvellous creation. Her place in the drama as part of the vitalizing detail would be still more important if it were not for Shosshi Shmendrik, the shy lover of her daughter, with whom she shares the attention of the public. There is a good deal in the make-up of this grotesque son of Israel that is sound comedy; but the rest of it is material for horseplay, unworthy of the creator of Malka, Pinchas, or Reb Shemuel. At all events the Shmendrik of the novel has a clearer *raison d'être* than his cousin of the play. Nor did Mr. Zangwill do perfect justice to his own inimitable Pinchas. Delightful as he is before the footlights, he lacks some of the genuine sublimity which streaks the most repellent manifestations of his egotism.

As to the two lovers of the drama it may be said that, although neither of them is as strongly projected as some of the subordinate characters, yet Hannah is realized well enough to show us the lovable Jewish maiden, whose radiant character is the soul of the whole play.

Altogether "The Children of the Ghetto" is a masterly picture of life, teeming with types and ideas—the first drama of real Jewish life ever put on a Gentile stage.

Some reviewers have wondered whether the outlandish character of Zangwill's play might not hinder a proper appreciation of its merits. But a work of art speaks for itself, and its audience is much larger than the world from which it is drawn. Good literature is no more confined to the people it portrays than a statue is to the country in which it was modelled. The cultured Norwegian who has never set foot on Spanish soil may realize the verisimilitude of a life-study by Valdes even more keenly than the uneducated Spaniard. The Ghetto is *terra incognita* not only to the Anglo-Saxon, but also to the modern Jew; yet the reality of the "Children of the Ghetto" impresses itself upon the imagination of every intelligent theatregoer.

The play contains several inaccuracies, such as the appearance of the rabbi in a praying shawl on Passover Eve, when none but the cantor of the synagogue would wear one. Some of these blemishes

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are necessitated by the exigencies of the stage; others might easily be removed; and none of them is serious enough to impair the artistic truth of the scenes in which they occur. They disappear in the perspective; and, taken as a whole, each scene emits the very breath of the life which it reproduces.

The severest criticism which "The Children of the Ghetto" has called forth has been directed against the synagogue scene in the fourth act; the singing of the cantor and his choir behind the stage having been described as sacrilege. To clear up this point I had a talk with the two leading orthodox rabbis on the East Side.

When Rabbi Jacob Vidrovitz, known as the Rabbi of the Exile of Moscow, had been told the story of the play, he said, with a smile:

"A very pretty tale. It is all correct, too; for once the maiden has accepted the ring in the presence of two witnesses who don't break the Sabbath and are honest men, she is consecrated to the man who put it on her finger. Such is the law! Such is the law!" he repeated in a tone which reminded me of the celebrated scene between Reb Shemuel and David Brandon. Passing to the question of sacrilege, the rabbi said:

"If they don't utter the Name, and the whole play is not calculated to make fun of our religion or our people, there can be no objection. There is no Name in *Kaddish*, and if the cantor does not pronounce the Name in *Yigdal* and *Borchu* there is no offence."

Rabbi Samuel Wine took a rather humorous view of the matter.

"So some Gentiles and Jews who shave their beards are fighting the battle of our God?" he said. "Well, well! There are much graver sins in the world than to sing *Kaddish* in a theatre. Time was when Jews were really enjoined from showing their Laws to the Gentiles. The Talmud says that when the Greeks took to translating our Scriptures into their language there was darkness in the world during three days. The reason of it was, that the Greeks did not translate the holy words correctly. Besides, the Gentiles were apt to make fun of our Law, so the best thing to do was to keep it in our synagogues. Now, however, that our Bible has been translated and our laws have been revealed to the Gentiles there is nothing left to conceal. So it all depends on the spirit in which it is taken. If the play tells the truth, and does not fall under the verse, 'Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful,' there is no sin."

While the rabbi was speaking a little girl came in with a question of law.

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"Rabbi," she said, "my mother has a glass butter-dish which she wants to use for cabbage. May she do it?"

"She may, my daughter," he answered. "But first she must keep it full of water for three days, changing the water every few hours."

When the girl had left he said to me, with a beaming face:

"As you see, Judaism is not altogether dead in America."

"But will this girl come to ask such questions for herself when she is married?" I urged.

"Well, maybe she won't," he assented. "I admit that piety is on the decrease and that the young generation is very lax. But do you know the verse? 'As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand and with an outstretched arm will I rule over them.' Saith the Talmud: 'He will give the Jews a king cruel as Haman, and this will bring them back to piety.' When Judaism is at its lowest ebb the Uppermost brings upon them a great sorrow to remind them who they are. Dreyfus was not much of a Jew, was he? However, when he was innocently punished by the anti-Semites, it came back to him that he was a son of Israel. Even if most of our people were like David Brandon, there would still be some good learners of the Law; and if the race strays too far off, the Holy One, blessed be He, will bring them back."

ABRAHAM CAHAN.

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